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ARTIST-BIOGRAPHIES.

PUBLISHERS' ANNOUNCEMENT.

THE growth of a popular interest in art and its history has been very rapid during the last decade of American life, and is still in progress. This interest is especially directed towards the lives of artists themselves; and a general demand exists for a uniform series of biographies of those most eminent, which shall possess the qualities of reliability, compactness, and cheapness.

To answer this demand the present series has been projected. The publishers have intrusted its preparation to Mr. M. F. Sweetser, whose qualities of thoroughness in research and fidelity in statement have been proved in other fields of authorship. It is believed that by the omission of much critical and discursive matter commonly found in art biographies, an account of an artist's life may be presented, which is at once truthful and attractive, within the limits prescribed for these volumes.

The series will be published at the rate of one or two volumes each month, at 50 cents each volume, and will contain the lives of the most famous artists of mediæval and modern times. It will include the lives of many of the following: —

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Paul Veronese,	Dürer,	Landseer,
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ARTIST-BIOGRAPHIES.

MICHAEL ANGELO.

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PREFACE.

IT is a work of greater difficulty than would at first appear, to compress within the limits of a *libretto* like this a just account of the life of him whom Taine ranks among the four immortals of art and literature, and whose years extended far out beyond fourscore, filled with incident and achievement. Twice the manuscript has been re-written, in order that by successive compressions the fitting limit should be reached, without doing violence to integral parts of the biography; and thus it is believed that the main incidents and fruits of Angelo's career are herein preserved, in fair detail. Several picturesque stories about Angelo, such as that in which he is reported to have nailed a man to a cross and left him to die, in order that he might paint a Crucifixion, are omitted here on account of their self-evident absurdity.

The authority on which this biography is based is the compendious *Vita di Michelangelo* (in two volumes), written by Aurelio Gotti, the Director of the Royal Gallery, and published at Florence in 1876.

Several interesting facts have also been obtained from Mr. C. Heath Wilson's biography, published in Florence at the same time, in the English language. In many passages Wilson's work is merely a paraphrase of Gotti's, and its author evidently labored under the serious disadvantage of a slight acquaintance with the Italian language, wherefore he has made frequent mistranslations, even in the case of Angelo's letters. I have endeavored to avoid these serious errors by re-translating the original letters from the collections of Gaye, Bottari, and Milanesi.

Other authorities herein consulted are the biographies of Angelo written by Herman Grimm, Quatremère de Quincy, Duppa, Harford, Perkins, Condivi, and Vasari; numerous articles in the Portfolio, Art Journal, and Gazette des Beaux Arts; the accounts of various travellers in Italy; and the opinions of certain well-known art-critics.

M. F. SWEETSER.

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MICHAEL ANGELO.

CHAPTER I.

Caprese Castle. — Angelo's Parents. — His Teachers. — In the Medici Palace. — The Platonists. — Flight from Florence. — Sojourn and Works at Bologna.

THE ruins of the castle of Caprese stand on the crest of a bold and rocky ridge of the Catenaian Alp, overlooking the wild and rugged hills about the sources of the Tiber and the Arno, and the great mountain of Penna della Vernia, Dante's *crudo sasso*, amid whose holy solitudes St. Francis received the *stigmata*. Within the walls of this old stronghold stands the Casa Communale, one room of which is sacredly preserved, and is marked by a tablet stating that therein Michael Angelo was born, on the 6th of March, 1475. His celestial name was given because the parents thought they perceived something divine in him;

and the astrologers demonstrated that Mercury and Venus were then in a friendly aspect in the house of Jupiter, "which proved that his works of art, whether as conceived in the spirit or performed by the hand, would be admirable and stupendous."

Lodovico di Leonardo Buonarroti-Simoni, Angelo's father, was in 1474 the governor of the castle, which he held in the name of the Florentines, together with Chiusi and the district of the Casentino. The family of Buonarroti-Simoni had been eminent in Florence, and claimed descent from the celebrated Counts of Canossa, in Northern Italy; a relationship which Angelo was proud of, and the head of the Canossa family in his day recognized. Lodovico's wife was Francesca del Sera; but the infrequency of allusions to her in after-life shows that her great son had but slight memory of her. She was then nineteen years old, and Lodovico was thirty-one.

When his term of office at Caprese had expired, Lodovico returned to Florence, pausing briefly at his villa at Settignano, on the hills eastward of Fiesole, three miles from Florence, and overlooking the beautiful Val d'Arno and its queenly city, and the distant snowy heights above Vallombrosa. He

left his infant son there, in the care of a wet-nurse, who was the daughter of a stone-mason and also the wife of a stone-mason, so that, as he afterwards said, he imbibed a love for marble with his first nourishment. He was in his infancy surrounded by the implements of sculpture and the quarried blocks from the neighboring ledges of gray sandstone; and his innate love of design found expression in rude charcoal-sketches on the walls, some of which are still preserved.

Lodovico afterwards sent his son to Florence, to attend the school of Francesco Venturini of Urbino, the famous grammarian, whom tradition assigns as the teacher of Raphael, some years later. But even at this early day, the boy's chief delight was to handle a pencil, and to endeavor to express his ideas and fancies by that medium. He abstracted the time which should have been devoted to his books, and gave up all his leisure hours, for the development of this passion of his soul. Granacci, a wealthy and accomplished pupil of Ghirlandajo, aided the lad by lending him drawings, and he also sought the company of other artists. But Buonarroti had intended his boy for the silk and woollen trade; and as soon as he discovered that

these artistic predilections were likely to disturb the schemes for his future advancement, he forbade such amusements, and punished him severely for the inevitable disobedience. The pride of the family cried out against one of its members who should dishonor the Buonarroti name, and lessen its commercial revenues, by embracing the little-esteemed and scantily-paid profession of a worker in marble and on canvas.

But Angelo remained firm, through all persecutions, until at last the reluctant father yielded; and in April, 1488, the lad entered the studio of Domenico Ghirlandajo, the foremost painter in Florence, eminent for delicate minuteness, skilful perspective, and rich coloring. His style was founded on that of Masaccio, with the subsidiary groups in his pictures enriched by numerous portrait-figures of the famous men and beautiful women of his time. He was at this time thirty-seven years old, and had attracted to his studio numerous pupils, and executed notable pictures in the cathedrals and palaces of Tuscany. Angelo labored under his new instructor with intense assiduity, and gave himself no relaxation. Fuseli well says, that he seems to have had no boyhood.

Granacci still remained his warm and congenial friend, and so continued through life.

Under the guidance of Ghirlandajo the youth learned the technic of his art, preparing colors, copying drawings, and laying in the groundwork of frescos. He was not content, however, with simple copying, and often ventured to improve his sketches with original ideas. He once corrected a drawing of his master's, by a series of bold and skilful strokes, and so successfully, that when he was shown the sketch, sixty years later, he remarked, "I almost think that I knew more of art in my youth than I do in my old age." It is said that Ghirlandajo became so jealous of his pupil, that he tried to arrest his development by withholding from him certain common rights of the studio. He made an admirable drawing of the master and his pupils on their scaffolding, frescoing the interior of the Church of Santa Maria Novella; and when Ghirlandajo saw it, he said, "This youth already knows more of art than I do myself." He was told to copy Martin Schön's picture of St. Anthony tormented by devils, and adopted the novel expedient of visiting the fish-market, and studying the colors of fishes' fins, eyes, and scales,

which he gave to the forms of the monsters in the picture. At another time he copied a portrait-head so exactly that his work was mistaken for the original, by the most expert judges, especially after he had smoked it, and given it an appearance of age.

Ghirlandajo had but little influence on Angelo's style, because the youth was removed from his studio within a year, and placed in the academy which Lorenzo de' Medici had founded, near the monastery of St. Mark. Cosmo de' Medici, "Pater Patriæ," had amassed a vast collection of ancient and modern sculptures, paintings, rare gems, and other works of art,. which had been further enriched by his grandson Lorenzo, the illustrious head of the Republic, and one of its foremost scholars and philosophers. Lorenzo arranged these treasures of art in appropriate galleries, which he opened to students, establishing prizes and pensions, and placing the school under the care of the sculptor Bertoldo, the favorite disciple of Donatello. The wealthy and cultured society of Florence, and her rare facilities for artistic studies, with the resulting achievements, made her at this time the most brilliant of the cities of Italy.

Lorenzo de' Medici asked Ghirlandajo to choose two of his best pupils, for the privileges of the academy, and the favored youths were Angelo and Granacci. The former had hardly yet learned the rudiments of sculpture; but Bertoldo found in him a ready pupil, and his first work in marble, a copy of an antique mask representing the head of a faun, attracted the notice of Medici himself, who suggested, however, that its teeth were too perfect for an old man. Lorenzo was so pleased with the skilful changes wrought by Angelo's chisel, and heard such fair reports of his diligence and genius, that he asked Buonarroti to allow his son to live at the Medici Palace, under his own patronage and care. The father consented, though not quite willingly, and received, in return, a position at the custom-house; while the young sculptor was assigned a room in the palace, and a seat at Lorenzo's table, as if he had been a Medici himself. He was, indeed, treated as one of the family and for three years lived on terms of the closest intimacy with its members. Lorenzo took a truly paternal interest in his young *protégé*, instructing him in lofty themes, displaying to him his unrivalled collections of gems, and giving him a key

to the gardens in which the antique sculptures were placed. He also allowed him a pension of five ducats a month, and provided him with a violet-colored mantle. Among the eminent men whom he met frequently at his master's table were Lorenzo's sons, Giovanni and Giulio, who afterwards became Popes Leo X. and Clement VII.; Bibiena and Castiglione, who were Raphael's dearest friends; Pico della Mirandola, the prince, poet, and scholar; Politian, the elegant poet and profound philosopher; and Ficino, the learned head of the Platonic Academy. Who that lived in such a society could fail to grow in intellectual power and vigorous character? The keen susceptibilities of the young Buonarroti were deeply impressed by those things which he daily heard, — the philosophic discussions of the Academy, the melodious songs of the Renaissance poets, and the heroic words spoken for pure religion by Savonarola. Here, then, in these golden years, the happiest and brightest of his life, Angelo learned to think deeply, under the guidance of the noblest minds of Italy. It were perhaps unwise to conclude that at his tender age (he was but fifteen when he entered the palace) he could have comprehended

the full meaning of the subtle and profound arguments at Lorenzo's table, but impressions were made upon his mind which afterwards produced the richest results.

There is a tradition that the young artist was deeply attached to Luisa de' Medici, the daughter of Lorenzo; but the extreme youth of both parties renders it likely that his sentiments were only those of admiration and respect. A more certain influence which acted upon him at this time was the preaching of the prophet-monk Savonarola, which taught him at once the religion of the Bible, and the patriotic love of Florence and of Italy. His brother Leonardo was so deeply moved by these sermons, that he withdrew from the world, and became a Dominican monk. Throughout his life, Angelo continued to venerate the memory of Savonarola, and to recall his noble preaching; and in his later years, his favorite studies were the Holy Scriptures and the published writings of the martyr-monk.

Politian was the teacher of the Medici youths, and was much pleased by the lofty spirit of Angelo, and his love for the beautiful and the true. He gave him valuable instruction in many ways, but

chiefly in long and familiar conversations, wherein he incited him to renewed labors in his art. He proposed as a subject for Angelo's chisel the battle between Hercules and the Centaurs, an appropriate theme in a community whose members were so devoted to classical literature. The resulting bas-relief, executed in the sculptor's eighteenth year, is still preserved in the Casa Buonarroti, and contains a great number of vigorous figures, intertwined in desperate conflict, and revealing already the sublimity with which in all his later works the master imbued (and sometimes overcharged) the simple elements of nature.

While Angelo was thus dwelling in the Medici Palace, and studying sculpture, he also devoted many days to the contemplation and copying of the wonderful frescos of Masaccio in the Carmine Church, — the same which afterwards so deeply influenced Raphael and Andrea del Sarto, and had already been the admiration of Fra Angelico, Botticelli, and Perugino. His emulous ambition forced him to work on steadily through holidays and night hours. His most careful investigations were given to the human body, whose every development he strove to analyze and comprehend;

and in this search a masterly knowledge was acquired. He had dead bodies conveyed from the hospital to a cell in the convent of Santo Spirito, and these he dissected with consummate skill and intense interest. The kind offices of the Prior of Santo Spirito were rewarded by a crucifix which Angelo carved from wood, and gave to him.

The youth's unremitting studies and productive genius soon made him widely known in the city, and awakened among some of the younger artists a feeling of jealousy, which was not mitigated by his proud and unconciliatory temper. He paid no deference to the famous artists then in Florence, Credi, Da Vinci, and Perugino; and mingled but little with his brethren of the younger schools. Pietro Torrigiano, one of his fellow-students, grew angry at his satirical dogmatism, and, coming to blows with the young sculptor, crushed his nose by a tremendous blow, and left him disfigured for life. He was carried home as dead; but even so severe a lesson as this failed to moderate his language and demeanor, which afterwards raised such swarms of enemies about him. Torrigiano was banished for this assault, and fled to England, but afterwards died miserably in the prison of the Inquisition in Spain

In April, 1492, Lorenzo the Magnificent expired at his villa of Careggi. "In the bitterest of sufferings, and with the signs of fervent religion, that life was extinguished, than which no other ever was prayed for with more tears, nor in after-times became more celebrated." Amid the consternation which fell upon Florence, and was heralded by such a portent as a thunderbolt piercing the great dome of the Cathedral, Lorenzo's young *protégé* grieved deeply at the loss of his kind patron, and returned to Lodovico's house, unable to attend to his labors. Piero de' Medici succeeded to his father's authority, but not to his virtue and wisdom, and by a proud and vicious life alienated the affections of the Florentines, and prepared the ruin of the family.

In his studio at the Buonarroti mansion, Angelo labored for the next two years to good purpose. He purchased a block of marble, and devoted himself to carving a statue of Hercules, which stood in the Strozzi Palace for many years, and is now lost. He also made a bas-relief of the Madonna, in Donatello's manner, which is preserved in the Casa Buonarroti. The Taunton Madonna, now in the London National Gallery, is regarded as a

work of this period, and is notable for its pure Tuscan faces, and for strict adherence to nature, in distinction from the marked idealism of Angelo's later compositions. The figures are sculpturesque, and the drapery is vigorously portrayed.

Nearly two years after the death of Lorenzo, a great snow-storm occurred at Florence, whereupon Piero was seized with a sudden fancy to have a statue of snow erected in his palace-court. He sent for Angelo, and, when he had done the work to his satisfaction, insisted that he should re-occupy his former room in the palace, and his seat at the table. He was proud of the sculptor, when considered as an appendage of the palace, but spoke with equal enthusiasm of his handsome Spanish groom. Angelo was mortified at the situation, and disgusted with his patron; but he had received too many benefits from the Medici to turn against them now, environed as they were with dangers. The French army was crossing the Alps to seize upon Naples, and the Florentine liberals under Savonarola were preparing to welcome the invaders to their city, and thus to dethrone the Medici. Seeing, therefore, that ruin was inevitable, and being unwilling to meet it with

a leader whom he despised, he resolved to fly from Florence.

The self-exiled artist left the city, with two companions, and journeyed to Venice, probably on foot. But he could not remain there long, for his scanty supply of money was soon exhausted, and he was forced to take up the route to Florence again. When he reached Bologna, he found that the Medici and their adherents had already arrived there, in headlong flight, and filled its citizens with alarm. Angelo and his companions were seized, as suspicious strangers, and ordered to pay a fine or go to prison. The former was impossible, and Angelo would doubtless have been incarcerated, had not the magistrate Aldovrandi, a gentleman of culture and a friend of artists, inquired about his profession and situation. His sympathy was awakened by the recital of the captive's story, and he liberated him, and invited him to dwell in his own house. Here he abode for more than a year, and the magistrate was rewarded for his charitable aid by the society of one who could regale him at will with the dialogues of the Florentine Neo-Platonists, or the poems of Petrarch and Dante. The resounding words of these great men, uttered

in the melodious Tuscan dialect, and by one well fitted to such exercises by the ripe scholarship of the Medicean court, filled Aldovrandi with delight, while the conversation served to beguile the grief of the exile.

During his sojourn at Bologna, Angelo was commissioned to finish a small statue of St. Petronius, which Niccolò da Bari had left incomplete on the sarcophagus of that saint, and an exquisite kneeling angel in the Church of San Domenico, which Niccolò Pisano had commenced. Though neither of these works was up to his standard of ability, they (and especially the latter) called forth such praises that the jealousy of the Bolognese sculptors was excited against the Florentine boy of twenty, and he found it inexpedient to remain in their city.

He therefore returned to his home in Florence, and went to work quietly in his studio. For the younger Lorenzo de' Medici, who had the refined artistic tastes of his great namesake, he executed a small statue of St. John, which long since disappeared, though some critics claim that it has recently been discovered at Pisa. Another beautiful work of this time was a sleeping Cupid, which

Lorenzo persuaded him to send to Rome, to be buried in the earth for a season, and then sold for an antique. This trick was successfully carried out; and Cardinal Riario purchased the exhumed statue for 200 ducats, and removed it to his palace on the Lungara. But he soon began to suspect the hoax, and sent an agent to Florence, who ascertained that Angelo had carved the statue, and had received for it but 30 ducats, being unaware of the full extent of the deception practised, and without partnership in its profits. The agent invited the sculptor to return with him to Rome, and recover his money, offering him the patronage of the Cardinal; and this proposal was gladly accepted by Angelo, who departed for the Eternal City forthwith.

CHAPTER II.

Sculptures at Rome. — The David. — The Bruges Madonna. — Competition with Leonardo da Vinci. — Summoned to Rome. — Carrara. — Pope Julius II.

In June, 1496, Angelo first entered the noble city which he was destined to adorn with such grandeur of art and architecture. During the first year of his Roman life, the sculptor lived near Cardinal Riario, who was but little interested in modern statuary, wherefore his client remained in idleness. He however furnished a design for a picture of St. Francis, which was painted by the Cardinal's barber, himself a good colorist, but without the ability to compose. After his studio was established, Jacopo Gallo caused him to carve a Cupid (now lost) and a Bacchus (now in the Bargello), the latter representing a plump, sensual, and drunken young man, complacently gazing into a cup held in his right hand, while in his left is a bunch of grapes, which a boy-satyr is roguishly devouring. The modelling of this work is very

beautiful, but the subject represented is the merry patron of the Italian vintage, rather than the Greek conception of Bacchus. Shelley, with unnecessary severity, calls it "a revolting misunderstanding of the spirit and the idea of Bacchus."

A nobler work, and one more congenial to the lofty spirit of the artist, was the Pietà, which he executed for Cardinal de St. Denis, the French ambassador at Rome. This marvellous group consists of the Virgin Mary, sitting near the place of the cross, and holding on her knees the body of the dead Christ, both figures being exquisitely finished and free from exaggeration. The reverent mother gazes upon the cold form of her Son with inexpressible tenderness and a calm and mystic grief; while the face of Christ is benign and holy, even in the stillness of death. The anatomical truth of the details is remarkable, though the drapery has somewhat of the mediæval rigidity and stiffness. Angelo met the complaints of some critics, who held that the Virgin had too youthful an appearance, by saying that the perfect purity of her thoughts had kept her ever young. A cavilling courtier asked where a mother could be found, like this one, younger than her son, and the sculptor dryly answered, "In Paradise."

In this great work the artist fulfilled the promise made for him by his friend Gallo, that "it shall be the most beautiful work of marble in Rome, and that no master living could do it so well." It was placed in the French Chapel of St. Petronilla, in the old Basilica of St. Peter, and became Angelo's first contribution to the vast church which he afterwards built on that site, and of which the Pietà is still one of the noblest ornaments. The unrivalled union of true art and pure religious feeling therein awakened the liveliest admiration in Rome. Sonnets were written to it, artists made studies from it, and Angelo was hailed as the foremost of modern sculptors, and equal to those of antiquity.

The Buonarroti affairs at Florence were going on badly at this time. Angelo's mother died while he was at Rome, and his father had lost his office when the Medici were expelled. Famine and pestilence menaced the city; and the head of the family, yearning for the support and counsel of his gifted son, sent Angelo's favorite brother Buonarroto to Rome, to detail to him the sad estate of his people. The diligent sculptor had saved a certain amount of money, and appropriated it to

set up his brothers in business. His father wrote to him, expressing great joy at this arrangement, and saying also, "Buonarroto tells me that you live with great economy, or rather penury: economy is good, but penury is bad, because it is a vice displeasing to God, and to the people of this world, and, besides, will do harm both to soul and body." He concluded his garrulous letter by again urging his son to return to Florence. Angelo had taken into his studio only the youth Piero di Giannetto, who loved him and was very faithful. Living thus in self-denial and rigid economy, neglecting his own personal comfort and health, the generous artist continued to aid his unfortunate family.

Angelo returned to Florence in 1501, bearing back to the scene of his first triumphs the augmented prestige of his four years of Roman experience. Three years had passed since Savonarola had been burnt at the stake, and the memory of his holy death was still in every heart.

Cardinal Piccolomini (who afterwards became Pope, under the name of Pius III.) contracted with Angelo for the making of fifteen statues of Carrara marble, each about four feet high, for the altar of the Piccolomini Chapel in the Cathedral

of Siena. The sculptor was to receive about $2,600, furnishing his own marble, and promising to do the work over again if it was not satisfactory, and superior to the average modern statuary in Rome. Three years was allowed for this task; but the artist made only four statues, those of Sts. Peter, Paul, Gregory, and Pius, besides finishing the St. Francis which Torrigiano had begun. These statues are still in the Piccolomini Chapel, but are deficient in interest, and appear to have been executed partly by assistants.

The colossal statue of David was Angelo's next work, commissioned by the Florentine authorities, who gave him for the purpose a block of marble eighteen feet long, which a previous incompetent sculptor had deformed almost irreparably in trying to make a statue. He contracted to execute the work in two years, for which he should receive $11.50 a month; and immediately set to work, alone, and with chisels of his own fashioning, in a temporary building near the Cathedral. The statue was finished in January, 1504; and the admiring throngs of citizens who beheld it said that it was as great a miracle as if a dead body had been raised to life. A commission of artists, in-

cluding Della Robbia, Attavante, Roselli, Ghirlandajo, Il Cronaca, Lippi, Botticelli, Granacci, Sangallo, Da Vinci, and Perugino, decided that it should ocupy the place of Donatello's 'Judith and Holofernes,' in the Piazza della Signoria. It took forty men four days to drag the marble giant a quarter of a mile, from the studio to its place, during which rioters attacked it with stones. No injury befell the statue until 1527, when its arm was broken off by a missile thrown from the Palazzo Vecchio, during a popular tumult. In 1873 it was removed to the Academy of Fine Arts, in the old Monastery of St. Mark, by a railroad built for the purpose.

The young Hebrew hero is represented as naked, with a beautiful, pliant, and muscular form, in the moment when he attacks the Philistine Goliath, proclaiming, "I come unto thee in the name of the Lord of Hosts." The face is filled with an expression of inflexible courage, and is crowned by a mass of tangled locks; and the tense limbs, marvellous in their anatomical precision, are nerved for the coming contest.

In April, 1503, Angelo made a contract with the officers of the Cathedral of Florence, to carve

colossal statues of the twelve Apostles, being allowed twelve years for the work, with a salary of $10 a month, besides the cost of the marble, his journeys to Carrara, and the living of himself and an assistant. He was provided with a house and workshops in the Borgo Pinti, designed by Cronaca for the purpose, and erected at the cost of the Cathedral authorities. The frugal priests thought that they had secured a good bargain, but the artist was so discouraged by his meagre stipend that he attempted only one of the statues, that of St. Matthew, and left it half-finished. This is now preserved in the Florentine Academy, one of the first of that long series of unfinished and undefined works which the impetuous and variable sculptor left behind him. It has been commonly believed that Angelo labored in solitude; but this idea is erroneous, for he certainly had assistants at various times, and arranged for the employment of numerous sculptors, on some of his works. It was impossible for his hands alone to keep pace with his teeming brain, and it would have been well for the art of Italy if his irascible and uneven temper had not prevented the formation of a group of trusty and efficient assistants. Between 1501 and 1504

alone he had commissions for thirty-seven statues and reliefs, — a number far exceeding his utmost capacity, diligent though he was.

The Madonna and Child now in the Notre Dame Church at Bruges was one of the best of Angelo's earlier works, and is distinguished for its admirable drapery and perfect hands, as well as for the sweet expression and queenly gravity of the Virgin's face, and the easy and pleasing attitude of the Divine Child, standing at the mother's knee. It was presented to the church at Bruges by Flemish merchants of the Moscron family, and was seen there by Albert Dürer in 1521.

In 1504 the Florentine Government commissioned its now favorite sculptor to model a statue of David, which was to be cast in bronze, and sent as a present from the Republic to a friendly official of the French court. The records of 1508 say, "The David in the name of God is packed and sent as far as the port of Signa;" and from thence it was shipped to France, and is now lost. About this time, also, the master partly finished two circular reliefs in marble, representing the Virgin and Child. One of these, presented by an ecclesiastic of the Pitti family to Luigi Guic-

ciardini, is now in the National Museum at Florence, and is distinguished for the exquisite head of the Madonna. The other, made for Taddeo Taddei, Raphael's friend, was afterwards owned by Wicar, the French painter, and is now in the Royal Academy at London.

The Madonna now in the Tribune at Florence was painted for the master's friend, Angelo Doni, before the year 1508, and is in the conventional and sculpturesque style of the earlier schools of art. The Virgin's expression is unpleasing, St. Joseph is posed in a most difficult position, and in the rude and imperfect landscape background is a row of incomprehensible but admirably drawn naked men. The whole work is a type of the Sistine frescos, in powerful design and formal manner of coloring. It has been darkened and otherwise injured by modern restorers, and it would be unfair to judge Angelo in a work so much of which is not his own.

In 1504 the Gonfaloniere Soderini commissioned his two friends, Michael Angelo and Leonardo da Vinci, to adorn the great Municipal Hall with national pictures. Although Da Vinci was twenty-three years his senior, and had devoted nearly all

his life to painting, a department of art in which he himself had done almost nothing, Angelo boldly accepted the commission, and dared the inevitable comparison. He chose for his subject an episode of the war with Pisa, when a company of Florentine soldiers, bathing in the River Arno, were warned of the approach of the enemy under Sir John Hawkwood. While the trumpet was sounding the alarm, the scattered soldiers were dashing out of the water, and helping each other up the steep banks, and others were hastily dressing and putting on their armor. The artist's pre-eminent skill in portraying the human form doubtless led him to select this theme, as favorable for a display of his chief excellence, and insured for it a successful treatment. He was provided with a hall in the Dyers' Hospital at St. Onofrio; and finished the cartoon after his flight from Rome, in 1506. The two great artists were not on good terms, and the younger treated his rival with severe discourtesy.

Leonardo, fresh from his ten years of honorable service at Milan, where he had painted 'The Last Supper,' engaged in this contest with great earnestness. He illustrated a rencontre of cavalry at the

battle of Anghiari, where the Florentines had defeated the Milanese in 1440; and partly executed it in an attempt at the revival of the ancient encaustic painting, which caused it to perish within fifty years. Neither of these great works was ever finished in the Municipal Hall, and, the cartoons having disappeared, only unsatisfactory reminiscences of them remain to our days.

Benvenuto Cellini said that "While these cartoons thus hung opposite to each other [in the Medici Palace], they formed the school of the world." Raphael, Andrea del Sarto, Baccio Bandinelli, Sansovino, Perino del Vaga, and other renowned artists made studies from them, and were filled with admiration for these culminating glories of Tuscan art. During the revolution of 1512, when the Medici were recalled, some one entered the hall where Angelo's cartoon was hung, and cut it to pieces; and Vasari says that Baccio Bandinelli, the deadly foe of the artist, was the perpetrator of the outrage. Sixty years later, several fragments of this great work were in the hands of the Strozzi family, of Mantua, but they have long since disappeared.

Early in the year 1505, Angelo was summoned

to Rome by Pope Julius II., that noble prince who was at once valiant in war and most liberal in his patronage of literature and the arts. Nothing but the magnificent offers of such a patron, and the fascinating power of Rome itself, could have induced the master to leave a city which was then the great centre of the arts and the home of their admirers, and where he himself was overwhelmed with lucrative and honorable commissions. Julius and Angelo were men of similar character, proud and arrogant, energetic and wilful, yet magnanimous, honest, and resolute. They were continually distrusting each other and quarrelling, and yet as often sought and obtained reconciliation by means of free and frank concessions, holding towards each other a profound esteem and a rugged sort of love. Angelo was the only man who ventured to controvert the martial prelate; and, although his opposition was almost always overborne, he submitted under protest.

The Pope's first commission to his sculptor, and one which involved him in countless embarrassments and anxieties for over forty years, was for a grand mausoleum, in which Julius himself should be placed after death. The plans of this monu-

ment were drawn by Angelo, and provided for a structure covering eight hundred square feet, and three stories high, detached on all sides, with terminal figures at the ends, sixteen statues of the captive liberal arts, and ten statues of Victory treading upon conquered provinces; all these on the lower story, and over the second the sarcophagus of the Pontiff, with his statue and attendant angels, and numerous other statues of prophets and apostles and cherubs. "It will cost a hundred thousand crowns," said Angelo. "It may be twice that sum," answered the Pope. This vast and sumptuous pile, rich in its pagan allegories, was destined for a place in St. Peter's; and when it was found that that venerable basilica could not contain so great a work, Bramante advised the Pope to build the apse which Nicholas V. had left unfinished. But Julius had conceived a grander scheme, and resolved to pull down the whole church, and rebuild it in greater splendor and extent. He ordered several architects to prepare designs, and selected that which Bramante had made, a decision highly approved by Angelo also, who ranked its author as equal to any architect of modern times — howbeit Bramante injured him seriously by a bitter enmity.

Julius commanded the destruction of the ancient basilica, with its monuments of eighty-seven popes, that on the desert thus made he might rear his own proud mausoleum; and it was a just retribution that such vandalism was punished by ultimate mortification.

In April Angelo journeyed to the marble-quarries at Carrara, where he remained for eight months, selecting blocks of stone fit for his new works at Rome, and having them hewn into shape. He also made an abortive design for converting one of the rocky peaks of the Carrara range into a colossal figure, to be visible by mariners far out at sea. During this sojourn he was attended by two servants, and kept a pair of horses. He went from the quarries to Lavagna, a port on the Genoese Riviera, and freighted his marble thence by sea, in vessels which bore it up the Tiber to Rome.

Returning from Carrara to Florence, after remaining there a short time, Angelo pursued his journey to Rome. The marble was placed in the square behind St. Peter's, and appeared to the people enough to build a temple, rather than a tomb. The sculptor was domiciled in a house between the Vatican and the Castle of St. Angelo, near the

covered way which connects the palace and the fortress; and the Pope had a bridge built thence to the studio. By this means he frequently visited the scene of Angelo's labors, and treated the artist as a familiar friend, perhaps not altogether to his taste, since he always preferred to work without supervision.

The ancient statue of the Dying Gladiator was discovered in the Gardens of Sallust, and its missing right arm was restored by Angelo. The celebrated group of the Laocoön was found in 1506, near the Baths of Titus, and repaired by Montorsol, one of Angelo's pupils, who also made the left hand of the Apollo Belvedere, discovered near Porto d'Anzio, in 1503. Della Porta also restored the missing legs of the Farnese Hercules, found in the Baths of Caracalla. It is said that Angelo added some of the lost parts to the Laocoön, the Satyr, and other mutilated antiques, but there is room for doubt as to the accuracy of this statement.

CHAPTER III.

Angelo's Flight. — The Reconciliation. — Julius II.'s Statue at Bologna. — The Frescos in the Sistine Chapel.

SUDDENLY the demeanor of the Pope altered, and he ceased his intimacy with Angelo, and closed the Vatican against him. Vasari says that Bramante was the cause of the change, having been aroused to jealousy by the success and the vigilant scrutiny of the new-comer, wherefore he told the Pope that it was an evil augury to build his monument in his life-time. He also advised Julius to employ Angelo to paint the ceiling of the Sistine Chapel, believing that he would fail disastrously.

Angry at his exclusion from the palace, and at the ill-treatment which he met from his patron, Angelo determined to abandon Julius, and to flee to Florence. He paid the sailors for the last shipment of Carrara marble, from his own purse, and left orders to sell to the Jews all the furniture of his house. He told the Papal courtiers, "When

the Pope wants me, he must seek me elsewhere than in Rome." Then he left the city secretly, and fled northward at a terrific rate of speed, so that he outrode no less than five Papal couriers, who were successively despatched with letters recalling him. Galloping over the broad Campagna to Ronciglione, he crossed the Ciminian hills to Montefiascone, and skirted the Lake of Bolsena for many miles. Then his route ascended the lofty pass of Radicofani, and passed through Siena to the town of Poggibonsi, in the domains of Florence, where he was safe from the Papal authority, and rested briefly, after his tremendous gallop of 130 miles. The distanced couriers now overtook him, and he sent them back with this haughty answer, "That he never would return; that his good and faithful service did not merit such reward, to be chased away like a perverse fellow; and since His Holiness would give no more heed to his monument, he was freed from obligation, and would not bind himself to any thing else."

The irate sculptor continued his journey to Florence, whither fresh messages were conveyed, promising to receive him well and keep him from

harm if he should return, and engaging to advance money as fast as it was needed. Angelo answered promptly, recapitulating his grievances, and stating that he had been informed that his own sepulchre would be made before the Pope's. Another letter, however, from Roselli, came to trouble Angelo, by showing how active his enemies were. It reads thus: "Dear as a brother, I have to inform thee that on Saturday evening the Pope, being at supper, summoned Bramante, and said to him: 'Sangallo goes to-morrow to Florence, and will bring back Michael Angelo.' Bramante replied to the Pope, and said: 'Holy Father, he will not come, for I am intimate with Michael Angelo, and he has said repeatedly to me that he did not wish to attend to the chapel, and that you wished to give him this charge; and that nevertheless he did not wish to serve you, unless with the sepulchre, and not in painting.' And he also added: 'Holy Father, I believe that he has not the courage, for he has not done much in figures, and especially figures that are high and foreshortened, which is another thing from painting on the ground.' Then the Pope answered and said: 'If he comes not, he does me wrong, for I believe that he will cer-

tainly return.' At that moment I advanced and gave Bramante a sound berating, the Pope being present; and said that which I believe you would have said for me; yet he did not know how to answer, and seemed to think he had spoken badly. And I told him, also: 'Holy Father, he never spoke to Michael Angelo, and as to that which he has now said, if it be true, you may cut off my head, for he never spoke to Michael Angelo; and I believe that he will surely return when Your Holiness wishes.' And here the matter ended."

While at Florence, Angelo was invited by the Turkish Sultan, Bajazet II., to enter his service, and to build a bridge across the Golden Horn, between Constantinople and Pera. The Sultan sent a large letter of credit, and offered him an escort of janissaries through the Turkish dominions. Though Soderini told him that he would make a better choice "to die, siding with the Pope, than to live, passing over to the Turk," he fully intended to fly to the Moslems if Florence should turn him out.

In May, 1506, he went to Carrara, to look after the marble which he had selected for the mausoleum. The remainder of his time at Florence was spent in working on the unfinished cartoon. Dur-

ing this spring-time, Julius II. founded the new St. Peter's Church, at Rome, in whose construction the master afterwards bore so prominent a part.

The Pope not only employed the good offices of friends to recall his recalcitrant sculptor, but also sent three briefs to the Florentine Government, demanding that he should be forced to return, if persuasion failed. Soderini, the head of the Republic, felt a certain danger attending the neglect of the mandates of so warlike a prince-prelate, and said to Angelo: "Thou hast tried an experiment with the Pope which the King of France would not have ventured on, but the time for entreaty is past. We will not go to war with him on thy account, nor expose our State to risk; so prepare thyself to return."

Angelo's estimate of the effect of Julius II.'s government in Rome is seen in one of his sonnets:

"Here helms and swords are made of chalices:
The blood of Christ is sold so much the quart:
His cross and thorns are spears and shields; and short
Must be the time ere even His patience cease.

. . . . . .

But of that better life what hope have we
When the blest banner leads to nought but ill."

The advance of the Papal army to Bologna was one of the most picturesque events of the Middle Ages. The Roman army was composed of a strong force of men-at-arms and infantry, headed by the nobles of the ancient historic families, and attended by the Pope and twenty-four cardinals, with their brilliant retinues. Their march followed the Tiber across the desolate Campagna to Orvieto, and thence through the hills to Perugia, where the tyrant Baglione was reduced to submission, and forced to give a contingent of troops. Defiling through the mountains for many days, they occupied Imola, and thence, being joined by French auxiliaries, moved against Bologna. Bentivoglio fled from the city, and the Pope entered in triumph, after a campaign of eleven weeks.

One of the Pope's first cares, after this conquering march, was to have Angelo brought back to his service; and he ordered the Cardinal of Pavia to write to Florence, promising him both safety and emolument. The sculptor resolved to seek the Papal court, "with a halter round his neck," as he said, being desirous to return to Rome, and also to deliver Florence from the danger which she incurred on his account. He took a letter from the

Gonfaloniere Soderini to his brother, the Cardinal of Volterra, in which it is said: "The bearer is Michael Angelo, sculptor, who is sent to please and satisfy His Holiness, our Lord. We certify to you that he is an excellent young man, and in his profession unequalled in Italy, perhaps in the whole world. We cannot too earnestly commend him. He is of such a disposition that, if he is kindly bespoken and well treated, he will do every thing. It is needful to show him affection and favor, and he in return will do works which will astonish all who see them. . . . The said Michael Angelo proceeds upon the pledge of our faith."

Angelo's first care, upon arriving at Bologna, was to attend mass at the Church of St. Petronius, where he was recognized by the Papal grooms, and persuaded to wait immediately upon the Pope. Julius was at table, but, ordering that the visitor should be brought in, said to him, with austere courtesy, "Thou hast come to seek us, and thou didst expect that we should seek thee." Angelo knelt, and craved pardon, saying that he had fled, not from malignity, but in the passion which he felt at being expelled from the Papal presence. While the Pope sat silent and angry, the bishop whom

Cardinal Soderini had sent to intercede for the sculptor exclaimed, "Your Holiness, do not consider his fault, because he erred through ignorance. Painters are always so, outside of their art." Whereupon the Pope poured out his pent-up wrath on the intercessor's head, saying, "Thou insultest him, which we have not done. Thou thyself art the ignorant and the rascally one, and not he. Leave our presence." The unfortunate official was driven out, with blows, and the Pontiff received Angelo to his favor again, and desired him to remain in Bologna.

Soon afterwards Julius commissioned him to make a bronze statue of himself, fourteen feet high, to be placed before the Church of St. Petronius, saying that he would pay for it liberally. He immediately set to work, in the hall of the Pavaglione, behind the church, where he welcomed several visits from his great patron. His life in Bologna was not luxurious, for he rented a wretched room to live in, and had but one bed for himself and his three Florentine assistants. He could not receive his brother Giovan Simone, who often wished to visit him, but wrote home frequently, telling of his labors, and taking a lively interest in the family affairs.

The work on the statue advanced so rapidly that the clay model was ready before the Pope left for Rome, and was inspected by him. Being asked if a book should be placed in its left hand, the Pontiff said, "What book? Rather a sword — I am no reader." He then questioned as to whether the right hand was raised to bless or to curse, and the quick-witted sculptor answered, "It menaces this people, Holy Father, if they are not prudent." The French King was now marching across the Alps against the Genoese communists, and the Pope, alleging that the air of Bologna was unhealthy, hastened to Rome, though not before he had laid the corner-stone of a fortress, hard by the Ferrara Gate, in which he had more joy than in a new church.

Wagon-loads of clay had been heaped up in the studio, and out of the lofty mass the sculptor moulded the statue, which was then cast in wax. Being ignorant of the art of bronze-casting, Angelo summoned the master Bernardino from Florence, who began his work in June, but failed on account of not having provided enough metal, so that the molten mass only filled the mould up to the waist, and the statue was finished by casting from above.

The metal came from the bell of Bentivoglio's tower, and a broken cannon, unequal alloys, which melted unequally, leaving the cast in such a rough state that the weary sculptor was obliged to devote many weeks to smoothing and chasing it, with files and other tools. In February, 1508, it was placed over the great door of St. Petronius's Church, in the presence of a vast and applauding multitude. Less than four years afterwards, the Bentivoglio partisans broke it to pieces, and it was converted into an enormous cannon, which the Duke of Ferrara named La Giulia, and mounted on his castle. The head alone, weighing 600 pounds, was preserved for many years.

Francia, the eminent Bolognese artist, came to see the Julian statue, and praised the material thereof, upon which the choleric sculptor cried out, "I have the same obligation to Pope Julius, who has given me this bronze, that you have to the apothecary who gives you your colors for painting," — adding to the gentlemen standing near, that the visiting artist was a blockhead. Again, when he met one of the handsome children of Francia, he said, "Thy father makes better live figures than painted ones." Albert Dürer visited

Bologna while Angelo was there, but it is not known that the two great artists met.

Early in March, 1508, Angelo returned to Florence, and leased for a year the house in the Borgo Pinti, which the Cathedral officials had formerly built for his use, designing to remain in the city, to assist his family, and to finish the works which he had previously left incomplete. He dreaded the malaria of Rome not less than its rivalries and malignant hostilities, and wished to settle permanently in his own city. But the Pope summoned him to the Vatican within three months, and he sadly broke up the new establishment, and bade farewell to his people.

On arriving in Rome he was informed that his allotted task was to paint the ceiling of the Sistine Chapel, the scheme of the sepulchral monument having been laid aside. Angelo faltered at undertaking so great a work in painting, an art in which he had but little practice, and recommended the Pope to choose Raphael, who had arrived in the city at about the same time, under the auspices of Bramante. Julius vehemently insisted that his Florentine client should execute the Sistine paintings; and he therefore reluctantly consented, the Pope

agreeing to pay him 3,000 ducats to paint the twelve Apostles in the lunettes, with ornamental work in the compartments. Afterwards the artist boldly objected to that mode of decoration, and his patron told him to do as he pleased in the matter of the designs.

The Papal architect, Bramante, was chosen to construct the scaffold from which the frescoing was to be done, but executed his work in an inefficient and perfunctory manner, without consulting the artist or allowing him to make any changes in it. Angelo therefore secured the Pope's permission to build a new staging, which he completed with great skill and rapidity, making a platform like a ship's deck, 130 feet long and 45 feet wide, and 50 feet above the pavement. Upon this were movable scaffolds for reaching the curved vaulting overhead; and, since the platform was above the tops of the windows, parts of the flooring were arranged for easy removal, in order to admit light, as well as to allow the artist to survey his work from the pavement below.

On the 10th of May, the great master began to prepare his designs for the frescos. He was dubious of his ability to execute fresco-painting,

at least on so grand a scale, and summoned to his aid Granacci, the friend of his boyhood, and other skilful Florentines. By September, these assistants were fully at work, transferring and coloring the designs from the master's chalk cartoons on the chapel-vaulting, which he had previously marked off in conformity with its architectural divisions, with infinite pains and accuracy. But the fallacy of this experiment was soon proved, for the assistants fell far short of the inspiration which was needful, and their coloring, timidly executed and in an outgrown manner, failed to harmonize with the ideas of the master. He therefore sent them away, and, obliterating their feeble pictures, set to work on the great task almost unaided; and thereafter for many months toiled on, in the gloomy space between the platform and the ceiling, living "like Elijah in the cave of Carmel." Ever thus engaged, looking upward, with back-thrown head and straining eyes, his vision was so injured that for a long period he could read only by holding the page above his head.

His custom was to make the first draught in red or black chalk, on a very small scale, and to follow that by elaborating the idea in a drawing from a

model. Armenini says that he saw him make a sketch of this kind in half an hour, which would have occupied most artists for a full month. Some of these draughts were mere outlines, and others were highly finished. From the small drawings thus made he marked out the full-sized cartoons or working-drawings, whose outlines he transferred to the plaster (not by the usual process of indenting with a stylus pressing along the lines, but) by nailing the cartoons to the wall, and cutting away the paper around the figures. The plaster was composed of Roman lime and marble-dust, and afforded a beautifully smooth and polished surface.

Vasari says that the Sistine-Chapel frescos were completed in twenty months by Angelo alone; but when it is considered that many weeks were spent in repose or in waiting for seasonable weather, and that at least 200 days must be assigned for the work on the 60 cartoons, it is readily seen that in the remaining time he could not have painted the crowds of figures in the chapel. Not only must we grant that the master had assistants (of which the frescos furnish obvious evidence), but also that his labors extended over a much wider space of time, even to

the greater part of the four years between the beginning of the work and the end of the year 1512.

He had not worked long before an incrustation like mould appeared on the surface of the frescos. Hurrying to the Pope in despair, the artist exclaimed, "I told you I was no fresco-painter; what I have done is ruined." Sangallo was sent to the chapel, and consoled the perturbed Angelo by showing that the damage was transitory, and would disappear when the plaster dried. The Pope had a ladder built by which he himself could visit the platform easily, and he frequently ascended to observe the progress of the work. This was not quite pleasing to the artist, who preferred to work in absolute solitude, since the task which was allotted to his brain alone was so great that he did not wish any outside distractions. The chapel was kept closed against the outer world, except in the brief exposition of the first finished half, when Raphael was present, and caught the Angelesque manner, to reproduce it admirably in his Prophets and Sibyls at Santa Maria della Pace.

While the drawing of the Sistine frescos was vigorous and forcible, the coloring was in the soft Tuscan manner, quiet, monumental, and sculptur-

esque. The nude parts of the figures are highly finished, but the drapery is laid in with a freer hand; though the delicate perfection of the whole work is far greater than it needed to have been, considering the distance at which it is elevated from the floor. The Pope wished that the frescos should be enriched with bright colors and gold; but Angelo replied, dryly, that the saints whom he had painted were poor men, despising riches, and did not wear gold. Nevertheless he added much gilding to the decorative parts, extensively retouched the figures with size-colors, and planned to enrich the skies with ultramarine (although if the latter was ever done, no trace of it remains).

On All Saints' Day, 1509, the work of Angelo was partly finished, and the scaffolding was removed in order that the Pope might see it. The completion of the great enterprise was reached probably late in 1512, and the chapel was first opened to the public in March, 1513.

The Sistine Chapel is 131½ feet long and about 44 feet wide, and the side walls are divided into three longitudinal sections, which are subdivided by painted pilasters. The lower section was colored to represent hangings of cloth of gold and of silver,

embroidered with the arms of Sixtus IV., whereon Raphael's tapestries were hung on festival days. The second section contains frescos of scriptural subjects, by Signorelli, Ghirlandajo, Roselli, Botticelli, and Perugino. The third section is cut by six round-headed windows on each side, between which are frescoed portraits of twenty-eight popes, by Sandro Botticelli. The space given for Angelo's genius to enrich covered about 10,000 square feet, including the arched roof and the pointed arches and lunettes at its sides. There are no fewer than 343 figures in the ceiling-frescos, varying in proportions from the colossal prophets to the graceful boy-angels who uphold the cornices, all of them full of life and thought, and marking the consummate flower of an exhaustless inspiration in the glorious epic of Christian redemption.

The central idea of this vast conception is the preparation of the world for the Advent of Christ, in a grand succession of portrayals of the typical events in Old-Testament history. These are judiciously combined by an architectural framework, enlivened by numerous accessory figures, medallions, and other ornaments, and separated appreciably by faun-like nude figures, of dark-toned colors,

seated on pedestals, and representing the genii of architecture. The central space of the ceiling contains nine great pictures, showing forth God separating the Light from the Darkness, the Creation of the Sun and Moon, the Separation of the Land and Sea, the Creation of Adam, the Creation of Eve, the Fall and Banishment from Paradise, the Sacrifice of Noah, the Deluge, and the Drunkenness of Noah.

The fourth picture on the ceiling contains the awakening Adam, which one critic calls "the finest figure in the Sistine Chapel, perhaps the grandest single figure to be met with in the whole range of modern art;" and that of the Creator, of which another critic says, "It is infinitely the noblest idea of God which ever emanated from art." In the next picture, the reverential nature of woman is illustrated by the new-born Eve, her first act being that of adoration. The fresco of the Deluge is filled with terrible scenes of suffering and death, the figures being of smaller size than those in the other pictures, in order to introduce more numerous episodes. The figures in the other ceiling-frescos are from ten to twelve feet high.

The great sins of man and their two punish-

ments having been illustrated in the central space, Angelo proceeded to show forth the promised redemption, in the long line of majestic and contemplative Prophets and Sibyls, sitting on thrones, and attended by angels, and filled with all the antique spirit of the Scriptures. These imposing figures would be eighteen feet high, if they stood erect; and their massive forms and eager faces are filled with the intensest absorption, the most ravishing expectation.

In the lower part of the vaulting are the Prophets Jeremiah, Ezekiel, Joel, Zachariah, Isaiah, Daniel, and Jonah, alternating with the ancient prophetesses, the Persian, Erythræan, Delphian, Cumæan, and Libyan Sibyls. In the pointed arches and lunettes of the vaulting are the ancestors of Christ's putative father from Abraham to St. Joseph, represented sometimes with great obscurity, and elsewhere by pleasing family groups. In the four corner arches are frescos of the Brazen Serpent, the Death of Haman, Judith and Holofernes, and David and Goliath.

The first impression produced on one who enters the Sistine Chapel is that of a vast and hopeless confusion of designs and paintings, amid

which gigantic figures appear along all the mighty vault, apparently without order or method. They are nearly seventy feet overhead, and can only be seen by assuming a painful attitude, which combines with the maltreatment they have suffered during a third of a millennium to detract from their interest to the casual visitor. Obscured by dust, clouds of cobwebs, and the smoke of altar-candles, conclave-ballots, and incense, they have acquired a low tone which is almost the reverse of the rich coloring with which they once stood out in bold relief on the white marbleized ceiling. The plastering was unevenly laid, on an unstable brick arch, and has cracked all over, and parts of it have fallen down (especially when the powder-magazine at Castle St. Angelo exploded, in 1798); and the colors have been ruined in many places by barbarous cleaning, when ordinary laborers have washed the pictures with sponges filled with a caustic solution.

The enemies who had urged the Pope to have Angelo decorate the Sistine Chapel, in the hope that he would fail so signally as to be relegated to lasting disgrace, were astounded and dismayed at his triumphant success. He was not a painter, as

he frankly stated in advance, and had made but two or three pictures in all his previous active life. But when he was forced to undertake this great work of frescoing, he resolved to surpass all who had preceded him, and concentrated the powers of his mighty intellect to insure success. Manifesting a heroic contempt of all limitations, he followed only the lofty lyrics of his own fruitful inspiration, and with a fearless self-reliance passed beyond the traditions of the academic artists of his day. It was his first fresco, but he showed no signs of inexperience, and its technical execution appears perfect. Kugler says that "The ceiling of the Sistine Chapel contains the most perfect works done by Michael Angelo in his long and active life. Here his great spirit appears in its noblest dignity, in its highest purity; here the attention is not disturbed by that arbitrary display to which his great power not unfrequently seduced him in other works."

CHAPTER IV.

Raphael and Angelo. — The Buonarroti Family. — Leo X. — The Façade of San Lorenzo. — Life at the Quarries. — Pope Adrian VI.

MICHAEL ANGELO and Raphael, the two foremost artists of the world, were brought together in the Vatican Palace, and labored near each other for years, yet never met as friends, nor seemed conscious of their vicinity. They admired each other's genius, and watched their developments and works with the keenest interest; but Raphael shrank from encountering the morose and savage temper of his great rival, and Angelo was prejudiced against the artist of Urbino, because he was a friend of Bramante and a pupil of Perugino (whom Angelo despised so thoroughly that he was once arrested for upbraiding him publicly as "a blockhead in art"). The separation thus formed between the two artists was widened by the tale-bearing and falsifying of their followers, until it became impassable. Bramante even endeavored to have Raphael appointed

to paint the remainder of the Sistine Chapel, after Angelo had finished the first half; but the wronged artist made an impetuous appeal to the Pope himself, in the presence of Bramante, and reported the misdeeds of the latter during the demolition of St. Peter's Church.

Raphael "thanked God that he had been born in the same century as Angelo," but the less generous Angelo said that "All that Raphael has of art, he has from me." The Pope's remark to Sebastiano del Piombo helps to harmonize these statements: "See the work of Raphael, who, as soon as he saw the pictures of Michael Angelo, suddenly abandoned the manner of Perugino, and approached as near as he could to that of Michael Angelo. But he [Angelo] is terrible, as you know, and no one can manage him."

Amid his great works in the Sistine, the master's mind was continually disturbed by the dissensions occurring in his family. He proposed to remove his benefits from the roistering Giovan Simone, and to transfer them to Sigismondo; and advised his father to let his rural villa, and to live like a gentleman. He truly states the grand object of his self-denials and grinding economies, in a letter filled

with noble anger and sorrow, wherein he reproves his scapegrace younger brother, Giovan Simone, saying: "If you will take care to do well, and to honor and revere your father, I will aid you like the others, and will soon establish you in a good shop. . . . I have gone about throughout all Italy for twelve years, leading a dog's life; bearing all manner of insults; enduring all sorts of drudgery; lacerating my body with many toils; placing my life itself under a thousand perils, solely to aid my family; and now that I have commenced to raise it up a little, thou alone wishest to do that which shall confound and ruin in an hour every thing that I have done in so many years and with so many fatigues."

In a letter to his father the weary artist said: "I stand here in intense anxiety, and with the greatest fatigue of body, and I have no friends of any sort, nor do I wish any; and I have not time enough to eat what is needful. Let no more annoyances be added to me, for I cannot bear another ounce." In the summer of 1508 he wrote: "I am sick at heart, ill, and worn out with fatigue, helpless and penniless." A year later, he wrote again: "The Pope has not given me a groat for a year; and I

do not ask for it, for I feel that I have not merited it, and this because painting is not the sort of work which is my profession. And yet I waste my time without fruits — God help me!" During this period of despair he wrote a scathing sonnet, reproaching Julius with having pitilessly robbed him of his toil from his youth up. In September, 1509, he sent 350 ducats of gold to be secretly deposited in the hands of a Florentine official, to his account; informing his father, who was about to lose an annoying lawsuit, that he was at liberty to draw upon this deposit for funds, and adding, with filial piety, "I should rather have you, alive and poor, than, you being dead, to possess all the gold of the world." Suffering with ill health as the master was, he longed to go to Florence and rest for a time, but was prevented by the impatience of the Pope and the necessity of watching the intrigues of Bramante's partisans. During the winter he secured many days for deliberation and repose, when the physical conditions of the climate rendered it impossible to proceed with the frescoing. After his extraordinary bursts of prolonged and intense labor, he was accustomed to rest for some weeks, reading his favorite authors,

and contemplating his great work in its entirety. The energetic and unresting Julius was always impatient during these periods, and his urgent remonstrances called forth equally passionate replies. The rapidity with which Angelo painted, when in the mood, appears in the unrivalled figure of Adam, which, although ten feet high, was finished in four days.

In the summer of 1510 Angelo applied to the Pope for permission to visit Florence, and was asked when he would have done with the Chapel. "When I shall be able," was his imprudent answer, to which Julius replied by striking him with his cane. The angry artist prepared to fly from Rome, but the Pope sent his page with the requested permission, and money for his journey. A few weeks later his beloved brother, Buonarroto, was menaced with sickness, and he wrote that if he was really in danger, "I shall take post-horses, and be with you in two days: men are worth more than money." Again, when Angelo returned an imprudent answer to the Pope's question about the end of his work, Julius threatened to have him thrown from the platform. "I'll take care that you shall not have the opportunity," answered the

painter, and gave orders that the platform should be taken down.

In the mean time the Pope had excommunicated the Florentine State, because it persisted in its alliance with France, and the Emperor had pledged himself to restore the Medici family to power. The Spanish Viceroy marched into the city with a large army, and the long-exiled Medici re-entered its gates under the protection of his battalions, and established their government upon the ruins of the Republic. Angelo counselled his family to keep out of the contest on either side, and furnished them freely with his hard-earned money to meet the new imposts, using also his influence with the Medici in their favor. In remitting these things to his father, he adds the pathetic remark: "If you are not to share in the honors of this world like other citizens, it is enough to have bread, and to live well with Christ and poorly, as I do here, and live miserably, and care nothing for life and honor, that is of the world, and abide amid the greatest fatigues and with a thousand mistrusts."

Early in 1513, Pope Julius II. died, and was succeeded by Cardinal de' Medici of Florence, who assumed the title of Leo X., and continued the

munificent patronage of art and letters which had been inaugurated by his predecessor. He was not only a townsman of Angelo's, but had also been a fellow-pupil, while the latter lived in the Medici Palace under the instruction of Politian. The completion of the works on the Sistine Chapel left Angelo free to return to his prior engagement,—that of erecting the mausoleum of Julius II. The late Pontiff had left directions for the execution of the monument, on a smaller scale than that of the first design; and his executors, Lorenzo Pucci and Cardinal Aginense, made a new contract with Angelo for a sepulchral chapel, with outer platforms and pedestals, and no fewer than forty statues, some of which were to be colossal. The sculptor established a new studio in the Macello de' Corvi, and set his assistants to work on the facade of the monument, which they erected in the Church of St. Peter in Vincoli. He himself engaged with great energy upon the carving of the statues, one of which was that of Moses; and received from the executors, during the next two years, over 6,000 ducats. He resumed this task with great joy, as he had previously relinquished it with reluctance; and believed that it would be his masterpiece.

Early in 1515, Angelo began to draw his own funds from the banker at Florence, to carry on the work of Julius II.'s sepulchre, whose models were advancing rapidly toward completion. The statues of the Waking and Sleeping Prisoners had already been blocked out, and were afterwards carefully finished. These grand works of art were too large for the monument in its last and reduced design, and are now in the Louvre. They were given by Angelo to Roberto Strozzi, from whom they passed to Francis I., and then to the Constable de Montmorency.

During his visit to Florence, in 1515, the Pope visited San Lorenzo, the church of his family, and wept over the tomb of his father. The edifice was built by Cosmo de' Medici, "the Father of his Country," from Brunelleschi's designs; but its front was left (as it is now) an unrelieved mass of black rubble. Leo determined to adorn this blank wall with a magnificent façade, and invited the chief Italian architects to submit plans therefor. Among those who competed were Raphael, Sangallo, Sansovino, and Baccio d'Agnolo; and Michael Angelo also was summoned to prepare a design. Although he had never studied architecture, nor made a

design of any importance, his was the successful plan: a victory which almost insured his ruin; for he incurred the hostility of the powerful family of the Rovere by his enforced abandonment of Julius II.'s monument, and the defeated architects also became his enemies. Leo X. made this new work a pretext for keeping the independent and high-spirited artist in a prolonged exile of three years from his court, amid the rugged Tuscan mountains, doing the work of a civil engineer. Angelo afterwards wrote in bitter words: "Pope Leo, desiring that I should not make the monument [of Julius II.], *pretended* to wish to erect the front of San Lorenzo in Florence."

In 1516, Angelo went to Carrara to select and oversee the quarrying of nineteen blocks of statuary-marble for the sepulchre; and hired a house, as if to remain a long time. But only two months had passed, when Leo summoned him to Rome, in the matter of the church-façade; a command which troubled him greatly, since he had hoped to have finished Julius's monument before undertaking new works. He had already built the basement of the sepulchre, and had carved the Moses and the Captives, besides modelling the reliefs, and pur-

chasing the copper for their casting. But the will of the Pope overbore the interests of his predecessor's family, and the desire of the artist; and Angelo was appointed architect of San Lorenzo, Leo agreeing to placate the Rovere family, and to have the statues removed to Florence for the sculptor to work on at intervals. This, however, was not done; and Angelo, shedding tears of vexation, discharged his numerous assistants, and closed his Roman studio. On the last day of the year 1516, Angelo reached Carrara again, having left Baccio d'Agnolo in Florence to make a model of the new façade. On his way from Rome he visited Florence; but received a sore rebuff from his father, who had so long lived on his generous bounty, yet fled from the city when he heard of his approach, and retired to Settignano.

Angelo wrote to the Pope's agent, proposing to make the front of San Lorenzo "the masterpiece of all Italy," in six years of labor, the total cost to be 35,000 ducats in gold. In the mean time he was suffering from the intrigues of his defeated rivals, Sansovino and D'Agnolo; the Carrarese, jealous of the works at Serravezza, were hostile to him; the Medici were growing impatient; and the

unfortunate master was surrounded by dishonesty and dissimulation. Hastening from Florence to Rome, to Pisa, to Genoa, and through the grand Appuan Alps, his precious time was squandered, while the mad carnival of Leo's semi-Pagan court went on at Rome, and beyond the Alps the Reformation was beginning. In the meantime the Pope was emptying the treasury of the Church in the Lombard war, and thus rendering his architectural plans impracticable.

In the solitudes of the Carrara mountains, Angelo studied architecture with intense assiduity, learning the cost of work and materials, and the use of machinery for moving heavy masses, and preparing the blocks of marble fit for various parts of the façade. The sculptor of Florence had been converted into a painter by the despotic will of Julius II., and now the no less peremptory orders of Leo X. made him an architect.

From Carrara Angelo was ordered to go to Pietrasanta, to re-open the ancient quarries in the adjacent mountains of Serravezza, to which he was also to construct roads. He protested against this indignity, and professed to believe that the newly-discovered marble was inferior to that of Carrara;

but the Pope and Cardinal de' Medici wrote to him, insisting that Salviati and other masters had praised the Serravezza marble, and intimating that the men of Carrara had bribed him to discredit the new quarries. Leo ordered that no other marble than that of Serravezza should be used in the works at St. Peter's, San Lorenzo, or the Cathedral of Florence — being resolved, as a true Florentine, that his patronage should be given to the Tuscan quarries exclusively. But before these stones could be placed on the plain, much work with the pick-axe was necessary, to make a road through the mountains, and Angelo was ordered to supervise this task, and to replace the mountain foot-paths with massive highways.

In 1519 he was invited to go to Adrianople, there to practise his profession among the Turks; but he now stood too high in Italy, and was sought by too many cities, to allow him to think of expatriating himself.

When the Florentine Academy petitioned Leo X. for permission to bring back the bones of Dante from Ravenna to Florence, Angelo signed the paper, saying, "I, the sculptor Michael Angelo, ask the same of Your Holiness, offering myself to make

a worthy monument for the Divine Poet, and to give it an honorable place in this city." The petition was disregarded, and Dante's remains still lie in remote Ravenna, though a noble monument was erected in his honor, at Florence, in the year 1865. Angelo's petition was written in Italian, though all the others were in Latin, and in this way the great artist testified his love for the language of Dante. He was a regular attendant at the meetings of the Academy, of which he was a member, and delivered before it a lecture on one of Petrarch's sonnets, which is still preserved.

Early in 1520 Angelo was released from his ignominious service of four years among the marble mountains, the design of providing a new façade for San Lorenzo having been abandoned, and the marbles quarried for that purpose were used to make a pavement in the Florentine Cathedral. The sculptor returned to his studio at Florence, to resume his work on the Julian monument and the statue of the Risen Christ. While thus engaged, he was apprised of the death of Raphael, his noble rival, by a letter from Sebastiano, the persistent calumniator of the younger master, who nevertheless is forced to say: "That poor Raphael

of Urbino is dead, which I believe will cause you great sorrow. May God pardon him!"

Pallavicini visited Angelo's studio at Florence about this time, and saw several figures in process of being carved, among which were (probably) the four statues now in the grotto of the Boboli Gardens, works destined for the Julian monument. Another piece of sculpture of this period is now in the Italian National Museum, and shows a vigorous and cruel youth crushing down an old man, perhaps in commemoration of his own sufferings at Serravezza. Another statue in the same Museum represents the dying Adonis, in Serravezza marble, and was probably one of the symbols of captured provinces on the Julian monument, afterwards metamorphosed into the present form. Still another noble but unfinished work (of later date) here preserved is the ideal bust of Brutus, which is full of dignity and power, with soft flesh and graceful drapery.

When Cardinal de' Medici ordered Raphael to paint 'The Transfiguration,' he also commissioned Sebastiano del Piombo to illustrate 'The Resurrection of Lazarus.' Angelo furnished parts of the design for the latter, and it was thought that

Raphael would certainly be outdone when his great rival's drawing was illuminated by Sebastiano's rich Venetian coloring. But this result did not follow, and Sebastiano's picture was sent away to the Cathedral of Narbonne, while Raphael's remained in Rome. Sebastiano continually poisoned Angelo's mind against Raphael, calling him a Jew and a robber, and ridiculing his works; while other Roman correspondents in similar ways slandered the painter of Urbino. Sebastiano was aided by Angelo's designs in several other pictures, among which were the Holy Family with Saints, and two Pietàs. Another joint work of this kind was 'The Flagellation of Christ' in the Roman Church of San Pietro in Montorio.

One noble thing, at least, Angelo did in respect to the memory of the deceased artist of Urbino. Raphael had left the great frescos of the Hall of Constantine unachieved, and his pupils were about to finish them from his designs; but Leo X. invited Angelo to paint the hall himself, and Sebastiano del Piombo urged him in several letters to accept the commission. Nevertheless the great Florentine resisted all these solicitations, preferring to allow Raphael's pupils to finish Raphael's designs.

He asked the Pope for permission to visit Rome, but was refused; and Sebastiano urged him to go in spite thereof, mysteriously hinting that he was needed there to look after the Castle of Canossa, whose ownership he might secure. "You would obtain all that you could wish, not castles but cities; for I know that the Pope holds you in much account, and when he speaks of you it is as if you were a brother, and almost with tears in his eyes; for he has told me that you were brought up together; and he shows that he knows and loves you; but you cause fear to every one, even to Popes." There is doubtless much truth in these statements, and in the inference that the savage temper and haughty irascibility of the artist made it seem best to Leo to keep him away from the splendid and ceremonious court of Rome.

In 1519 Leo determined upon the erection of a new chapel on the north side of the Medici Church of San Lorenzo, for the reception of monuments to his well-beloved brother and nephew, Giuliano and Lorenzo. Late in 1520 Cardinal de' Medici invited Angelo to make a design for this structure, which design was accepted, and the sculptor was ordered to begin the construction.

In the following April, Angelo made his tenth and last visit to Carrara, where he drew the ground plans for his new work, and ordered the marble from the famous old quarry of Polvaccio, whence the Romans obtained their supplies as far back as the days of Trajan. Three hundred cart-loads of marble were purchased, some of which was to be blocked into figures at the quarries.

Returning to Florence, the master resumed his work on the Risen Christ, the same subject which he had begun in Rome several years before, and abandoned on finding a flaw in the marble. In August he sent it to Rome, in the care of his assistant, Pietro Urbano, who was delegated to finish it, but fell into an evil life in the papal city, and seriously disfigured the statue. Sebastiano secured the services of a competent sculptor, named Frizzi, who finished the statue admirably, and it was set up in the Church of Santa Maria sopra Minerva, where it still remains. As an embodiment of triumphant life, abounding in manly beauty and grace, it is full of interest; but the painful feelings excited by the nudity of the statue of One so sacred have forced the ecclesiastics to mar its symmetry by the introduction of bronze drapery.

In December, 1521, Leo X. died, doubtless but little lamented by Angelo, and was succeeded by Adrian of Utrecht, the former tutor of Charles V., who was a true bishop, in that he preferred to devote his energies to the purifying of the Church, rather than to the nurture of art and a semi-pagan literature. During his brief pontificate of less than two years, Angelo devoted himself to the Julian monument, and to the construction of the Medici funereal chapel, which was built of stone from the adjacent village of Fiesole. Adrian cared as little for the Rovere as for the Medici, and had an equal indifference to Angelo's occupations. In 1521 Angelo was godfather to the son of Niccolò Soderini, the nephew of the former President of the Florentine Republic. During the next year the Senate of Genoa desired him to make a statue of Andrea Doria, but nothing came of it. He wrote to Angelini: "I have much work to do, and I am old and unwilling, so that if I work for a day I must rest for four."

CHAPTER V.

Florentine Labors. — Clement VII. — Laurentian Library. — Building Fortifications. — The Siege of Florence. — Fall of the Republic.

In November, 1523, Cardinal Giulio de' Medici was elected Pope, to succeed the deceased and unlamented Adrian VI., and assumed the name of Clement, to foreshadow his conciliatory policy. He always treated Angelo with distinguished courtesy and generosity, appreciating his high talents as well as understanding his faulty temper, and enjoying his works, and those of other artists and literati, as a Medici should. He was so desirous of securing Angelo's undivided service and obedience, that he endeavored to have him take holy orders; but this proposal was refused, upon which the Pope offered him a salary of fifty ducats a month, and this he accepted. The works on the Medici Chapel went on apace after the accession of Clement VII. The master had much difficulty with his clerk of works, Stefano, yet he dared not turn him away,

because both of them had been enrolled among the Piagnoni, or followers of Savonarola. Stefano was, however, a practical architect of great skill, and his master would not plan the Library until he had consulted with him.

Angelo was a great admirer of the three famous Florentine architects who had preceded him. Of Ghiberti's gates to the Baptistery, he said, "They are so beautiful, that they are worthy of being the gates of Paradise." Standing before Donatello's statue of St. Mark, he cried out, "Mark, why don't you speak to me?" and on another occasion he said, "If St. Mark looked thus, we may safely believe what he has written." When he was advised to vary the lantern on the Medici Chaple from that which Brunelleschi had built on the old sacristy of San Lorenzo, he remarked, "It may be varied, but not improved." Of other artists he spoke no less pleasantly, saying of Gentile da Fabriano that his name corresponded with the grace of his style; and of Cesari's medals, that "Art has reached its last hour, for beyond this it cannot go."

In 1525 the master went to Rome to discuss with the Pope his plans for the chapel and the new Laurentian Library, and was menaced by the Duke

of Urbino, for having made no returns for the 16,-ooo crowns which he had received on account of the Julian monument. On his return to Florence, the dome of the chapel was completed, but further work was delayed by troubles about the supply of marble. So much annoyance did this cause, that he abandoned the undertaking, though Salviati wrote him a long letter, filled with kindly good sense, begging him, in the Pope's name, to resume the work, and to disappoint his now laughing enemies. The Pope's agent proposed to him to build a colossal statue in Florence, sixty feet high, facing the Medici Palace, and with its back towards the Stufa Palace. The independent sculptor replied with grim humor, suggesting that it should be erected on the site of the barber's shop near the Medici Palace, and, being hollow, the barber could hire the lower part for his shop, while the empty head would make either a dove-cote or a capital belfry for San Lorenzo, with the sounds of the bells issuing from the mouth of the colossus. This Titanic fun disposed of the Pope's scheme forever. New plans for the Library were submitted and amended; and the Pope showed at once his impatience and his consideration in the following letter:

"Thou knowest that Pontiffs do not live long, and we cannot too strongly express our wish to see, or at least to hear, that the Chapel with the sepulchres of our relatives, and also the Library, should be finished. Both of these we recommend to thee; in the mean time we will, as thou hast already said, exercise a good patience, praying God to put it into thy heart to make haste on both together; and not to doubt that labors and rewards will be wanting to thee as long as we live. Now remain in the blessing of God and of ourself."

The work on the Laurentian Library, adjacent to the Church of San Lorenzo, went on so rapidly that it was roofed in in 1525, and was furnished the next year. The Pope desired that it should have a richly-carved wooden ceiling, and that the desks and chairs should be made of walnut and fir-wood. In April, Angelo sent the design for the doorway and its motto, which the Pope liked so well that he said no man in Rome could have invented so good an inscription. He ordered the seats to be of carved walnut, and "*alla cosimesca*, that is, that they resemble the works of the magnificent Cosimo." The carved ceiling, designed by Angelo, was executed by Tasso and Carrota; and

the elaborate flooring, which still exists, was made by Tribolo. The hall is 135 feet long and 35 feet wide, and reflects but little honor on its builder, on account of its ill-conceived ornamentation.

Italy was at that time not Italy, but a geographical collocation of petty states, filled with dissensions and treacheries, and scourged by intestine wars and devastating pestilences. The perfidy and immorality of the princes were reflected in the unspeakable vices and corruptions of the people, and the sentiments of honor and freedom seemed extinct. The Italian spirit had not yet arisen, and the debased peninsulars sold their fair land cheaply, first to the French and then to the Germans. The culminating disaster was the sack of Rome by the Imperial army, in May, 1527; and when the Florentines heard thereof, they raised the red lilies of the Republic, and expelled the Medici. The monks of St. Mark revived the memories of Savonarola, by their impassioned preaching, and erected over the portal of the Municipal Palace a marble tablet (which still remains) bearing the inscription: YHS, REX. REGUM ET DOMINUS DOMINANTIUM. Famine and pestilence swept through the city, nevertheless, and Buonarroto died in the arms of

his lamenting brother Angelo, who never left him during all his terrible sickness. The master's commissions for the Medici Pope were thrown into abeyance; but the Republican Government ordered him to carve a group of Samson slaying a Philistine, as a patriotic symbol. The model which he made for this work is now preserved in the South Kensington Museum.

In 1529 the radical party came into power, and Carducci was elected Gonfaloniere. But in the meantime the Pope and the Emperor had formed an alliance for the restoration of the Medici, and prepared to attack the city with an army under the Prince of Orange. The war-council appointed Angelo as governor and procurator-general of the fortifications and defences of Florence, and a member of the militia-council. Thus the sculptor was pushed by destiny into still another profession, and was summoned from his studio to act as a supervising military engineer. He accepted the duty imposed, and moreover loaned his own funds freely to the menaced Republic. He secured the services of a great number of peasants, who fortified the hill of San Miniato under his directions, erecting long lines of bastions around that impor-

tant height, and demolishing all the buildings in the line of the walls. The works thus constructed were afterwards highly esteemed by military engineers, and were measured and praised by Vauban himself. Capponi and other leaders opposed the San-Miniato fortifications, and they were twice dismantled, but were as often rebuilt by the master. Angelo was sent to Ferrara by the Government, to study its fortifications, and was favorably received by the Duke, who showed and explained to him the defences of the city. Being hastily recalled to Florence, he was then sent on an embassy to Venice, with three other citizens. After spending a fortnight in the sea-city, he returned to Florence, and resumed his work on the forts. But he soon saw that Malatesta Baglioni, the captain-general of the Republic, was playing the part of a traitor, and furthermore a mysterious warning came that he himself was about to be assassinated. Despairing of the success of his country, he denounced the conspirators to the Signory, and showed that Malatesta had placed his artillery outside of the walls and unguarded. But this appeal was not effectual, and the master, hopeless for Florence, and menaced as to his own life, asked to be allowed to

retire to France, where King Francis I. had earnestly invited him to settle, at his court. This permission was denied, and so he fled from the city, with great difficulty, and passed to Venice, on his way to France. The Government of Venice offered him a munificent salary, to establish himself in that city; and he made a design for a new Rialto Bridge, for the Doge Gritti.

Angelo's flight caused a great sensation in Florence, and the Signory issued an edict placing him and several other fugitives under the ban of the Republic, as rebels, yet giving them a week in which to return and submit to the Government. He was, however, comfortably housed on the Giudecca, at Venice, receiving distinguished courtesies from the citizens, and abundantly supplied with money, since he had carried with him 3,000 golden ducats, sewed into his clothing. While fleeing toward the North, he was courteously received by the Duke of Ferrara, who showed him through his great collections of pictures, and said, "You are my prisoner, and before you leave me you must give me a promise to do something for me, either in painting or in sculpture, as you may prefer." It was probably during this period of exile that Angelo wrote his passionate sonnets to Dante.

In October, Della Palla, who was to have accompanied Angelo to France, wrote to him that the enemy was already encamped about Florence, but the citizens were filled with ardent hopes of victory, and he himself should remain to help defend the city. At the same time the Government sent a safe-conduct to Angelo, and begged him to return. Filled with anguish at the danger impending over his native land, the master hastened from Venice to Lucca, and embraced the first opportunity to re-enter Florence. Here he was placed in command of the fortifications, which were already crumbling under the bolts of the German artillery. His first care was to repair the bell-tower of San Miniato, the beautiful old Gothic church which he called his bride, whereon two Florentine cannon had been mounted, whose galling fire so annoyed the besiegers that they had directed a heavy cannonade upon the tower, and injured it seriously. The damaged masonry was protected by bales of wool, which were employed also at other parts of the defences, where the hostile shot had broken the walls. There were 8,000 regular infantry and 5,000 volunteers in the city; and the villas, palaces, and churches for a mile outside of the walls had been

levelled, while the groves and orchards had been cut down and made into fascines. The Imperialists occupied Signa and La Lastra; furiously assailed the bastion of St. George; and overran the Tuscan territory, where Ferruccio, the Republican general, after several successes, was defeated and slain. Famine and pestilence appeared in the city, but the people resolved to die in the streets rather than surrender. At last Malatesta, the commander of the defences, was convicted of treachery, and when an officer was sent to depose him, he stabbed him, and turned the guns at the Roman Gate upon the city. Nought remained but to make peace with the besiegers, and Florence surrendered to the Imperial forces, under the pledge of amnesty and the preservation of her liberties.

Throughout the period of resistance Angelo was one of the foremost on the walls and in the councils, and conducted himself with the valor of a veteran and the calm faith of a Piagnone. His hours of repose were devoted to the practice of his profession, and he retired from the roaring batteries to his quiet studio, where he was engaged in painting a picture of 'Leda and the Swan' for the Duke of Ferrara. He was also called upon for

other engineering duties, and went to Leghorn and Pisa, to advise about fortifications there, and to provide dikes against the inundations of the Arno. His powerful citadel on San Miniato withstood the utmost fury of the hostile cannonade; and its defenders were inspired by the superb view from that lofty site over the city and the Vale of the Arno.

When the Imperialists occupied Florence, and the Medici resumed its government, the terms of capitulation were disregarded, and the Republican leaders were sought out for execution. Earnest quest was made for Angelo; but he remained hidden, in the belfry of the Church of St. Nicholas, until the fury of the storm was over, and the Pope had publicly announced that he should be pardoned. He was accused (not only of extraordinary energy in the defence, but also) of having proposed to level the Medici Palace, and to have its site entitled "the Place of Mules" (the Medici of that day were illegitimate).

Immediately upon issuing from his hiding-place, the master set to work quietly upon the Medici monuments at San Lorenzo, and the Pope renewed his pension. At the same time he conciliated the all-powerful Papal Commissioner, Baccio Valori, by

making for him a statue of Apollo drawing an arrow from his quiver. This beautiful work, not quite finished, now remains in the Italian National Museum at Florence. Still the master did not return to the Medici cause, and incurred the hatred of Alexander of that family, the new Duke of Florence, by refusing to take part in the erection of a new fortress to dominate the city.

The agent of the Duke of Ferrara was displeased at the 'Leda,' and had angry words with the artist, who afterwards gave it to his pupil Mini and another Florentine. In 1532 Mini carried this picture and a copy thereof to Paris, where it ultimately passed into the hands of the King. During the reign of Louis XIII., it was destroyed by the superintendent of the royal palaces, on account of its supposed grossness of suggestion. Eastlake, however, says that it is still preserved, in England.

The group of Samson and Goliath, which the Republic had ordered of Angelo, was never finished, so completely had the sculptor been engrossed with military duties. The block of marble destined for this work was given by the Medici to Baccio Bandinelli, Angelo's bitterest enemy and most presumptuous rival, who executed from it the group of

Hercules overcoming the robber Cacus, which still disfigures the Piazza della Signoria.

In the mean time Angelo had secured the return of his father to Florence. The weak old man had been appointed to hold Castelfranco for the Republic, but had fled to Pisa, on the Imperialists' advance, and, after the city fell, corresponded with his grandson Leonardo about returning thither. Sigismondo was then Castellan of La Verrucca, on the Pisan Mountains, and prevailed upon him to wait until the roads were safe.

CHAPTER VI.

The Medici Chapel. — Paul III. — The Last Judgment. — The Capitol. — The Farnese Palace. —The Statue of Moses.

THE master continued to work night and day on the statues for the Medici Chapel, until at last his health began to give way, and he suffered greatly from sleeplessness, loss of appetite, vertigo, and general emaciation. These physical troubles were augmented by the mental agony consequent on seeing the miseries of his city. One day Strozzi wrote on Angelo's statue of Night the poetic lines:

"The Night, which thou dost see in such sweet guise
To sleep, was by an angel [Angelo] hewn
From this rock, and though she sleeps she lives.
Arouse her, if thou believ'st it not, and she will speak to thee."

The sculptor answered (for the statue) in these words, bewailing the servitude of Florence:—

"Dear to me is sleep, and more to be of stone;
While injury and shame endure,
To see not, to feel not, is fortunate for me;
So wake me not; alas! speak low."

Once more the Rovere princes began to persecute Angelo for his abandonment of the Julian monument, and Clement VII. consulted with Sebastiano del Piombo about placating them and allaying the fresh alarms of the sculptor. The Pope offered to allow Angelo to come to Rome, but Sebastiano advised him to keep quiet and work earnestly for the Papal designs, because Clement now loved him deeply, "and would be still more pleased if he knew that you were happy, and that your mind was at peace, and that you had the same love for him that he has for you." In November the Pope made an extraordinary use of his spiritual weapons, for Angelo's relief in the Rovere matter, by issuing a brief forbidding the sculptor to undertake any work, except for Clement himself, under pain of excommunication. At this time he had numerous commissions, all of which, and more, could easily have been executed if the master had been able to mould and command such a corps of assistants as Raphael had formed. But the men whom he had trained were all inadequate, and could not be trusted out of his sight, so that he himself was forced to do nearly every thing with his own hands. It is perhaps true that no men of

distinguished ability, and of genius fit to second his own, could endure to live with a person of such unamiable traits.

In the summer of 1533, Angelo petitioned the Pope to have the 1,000 ducats which he had advanced to the Florentine Republic repaid to him. Clement ordered the Duke of Florence to refund to the artist the money which he had loaned in order to keep both the Duke and the Pope out of Florence; and thus the audacity of the sculptor was matched by the magnanimity of the prelate. Clement's regard for Angelo was mingled with a sort of fear withal; and he was accustomed to tell him, at their interviews, to be seated, and to put his hat on, knowing that he would do so anyhow.

In spite of the threatened anathema, fresh difficulties arose about the Julian monument. Angelo went to Rome in April, 1532, and made a new contract with the heirs of Julius, binding himself to discharge his debt by designing a new sepulchre, to be decorated with the six statues which he had begun, and which he promised to complete in a little over three years. "These alone will be of a world's value, as they will be incomparable," wrote the exultant Envoy of Urbino to his sovereign.

On his return to the labors of the Medici Chapel, he took with him the monk Montorsolo, "for smoothing and polishing and undercutting, by which means the Friar learned many things from that divine man, observing him attentively while he worked." In September, 1533, the master went to San Miniato al Tedesco, and met Pope Clement VII., who was then on his way to France to solemnize the nuptials of his niece, Catherine de' Medici, with the King's son. The Papal train was about to embark for Marseilles, in the galleys of the Duke of Albany, and Sebastiano gave his horse to Angelo, being unable to carry it on shipboard.

Early in 1534, Angelo's father died at the villa in Settignano, having reached his ninetieth year. His remains were honored by the grieving son with a costly funeral at Florence; and his memory was consecrated in a tender elegiac poem, the last act of a long season of self-sacrifice and filial love. Most of the years 1533 and 1534 were devoted to the Medici Chapel, carving the Day and Twilight, while Montorsolo finished the two ducal statues. In September of the latter year, Angelo went to Rome, just in time to be present at the death of Clement VII., after which he abode in Rome, and the works on the chapel and the library ceased.

The Medici Chapel was finished in 1534, and is a broad and massive piece of architecture, replete with harmonious simplicity and dignity. It is quadrangular, with arched recesses in each side, one of which is prolonged into a chancel, and decorated with a white marble altar and candelabra, designed by Angelo. The walls are adorned with two series of Corinthian pilasters; and on each side of the niches are doors, eight in number, most of which are merely ornamental. In 1533 Angelo approved of the designs of Giovanni da Udine, who decorated the interior of the dome with richly-colored arabesques and ornaments in stucco. All these have since been removed or whitewashed, leaving the chapel most poor in color. It contains the monuments of the two Medici Dukes, and an unfinished Madonna, by Angelo, with other contemporary statues. On one side is the mausoleum of Giuliano de' Medici, Duke of Nemours, son of Lorenzo the Magnificent, and brother of Pope Leo X., surmounted by Angelo's statue of Giuliano, in a sitting posture, clad in armor, and holding loosely in one hand the baton of a general, and in the other the golden coins of an Italian conspirator. The upturned

countenance is handsome but unintelligent, and is of the same type as those of the statues of David and Adonis, though bereft equally of mind and of heroism. Below this statue, and over the tomb, are the seated statues of Day and Night: the former, a gigantic figure, instinct with resistless power and prophetic hope; the latter, a female form, constrained and uneasy, with an expression of grievous and hopeless suffering.

Opposite Giuliano's monument is that of Lorenzo de' Medici, the Duke of Urbino, the grandson of Lorenzo the Magnificent, and the father of Catherine de' Medici and of Alexander, the Duke of Florence. The Italians call this statue *Il Pensiero* (the thought), so profoundly is the air of deep contemplation and mental agony shown by the attitude. It is clad in splendid armor, with a fantastic helmet overshadowing the grave and intellectual features, the chin resting on one hand, and the feet crossed in front. Heath Wilson says: "throughout the whole range of the creations of art, of whatever time, it would be vain to look for a face which expresses, as this does, such deep and hopeless mental suffering." Below this grand achievement of art are two sitting statues, both nude;

the one a male figure representing the Twilight, the other a female figure representing the Dawn, full of the expression of perfect womanhood, yet bearing a face utterly sorrowful and hopeless. The statue of Dawn has been called the most beautiful of Angelo's works, and the one which most surely surpasses the masterpieces of the ancients. Some dispute has arisen as to which of these tombs and statues is that of Lorenzo, and which that of Giuliano, since even the artist himself confessed that he had not adhered to nature in portraying their faces.

Many writers have advanced many theories as to the meaning of the allegorical statues in the Medici Chapel, and all seem desirous of finding some recondite symbolism therein. One sees in the Dawn the opening of a gloomy day for Florence, under the despotic Medici; in the Twilight, the evening of sorrow falling upon the devoted city; in the Night, the doleful eclipse of liberty; and in the Day, the prophecy of the heroic freedom of the future. But would the man who had been nurtured from his boyhood by the Medici, and had enjoyed from them the richest patronage of his maturer years, would he, however

much a Florentine, be so ignoble as thus to insult them in their graves? Or, if he would, could he, with a Medici on the Papal throne, supervising and paying for the work, and another on the throne of Florence?

Neither of the four allegorical statues is finished, but the ducal statues are complete in all parts, thanks to the labors of the monk Montorsolo. In the tomb of Lorenzo, his son Alexander was also interred, in 1536; and this sepulchre was opened in 1875, under circumstances of the greatest barbarity. The remains of the two Medici princes were found, carefully laid out, embalmed and robed; but the rabble of people who were present pulled the bodies to fragments, carrying off pieces of the garments, and even small bones as mementos, after which the desecrated remains were flung back in a confused heap.

Late in 1534 the new Pope, Paul III. (Alexander Farnese, one of Borgia's Cardinals) proposed to retain Angelo at Rome, since he was a lover of letters and art, and admired the great sculptor's works. The Pope and ten of his cardinals visited the studio, to see the designs for 'The Last Judgment' and the Julian statues; and the Cardinal of

Mantua exclaimed that the statue of Moses was enough to do all honor to the memory of Julius.

In September, 1535, Angelo was appointed Chief Architect, Sculptor and Painter of the Apostolic Palace, with all the honors and privileges of the Papal Court, and a salary of 1,200 golden crowns a year. Half of this sum was to be derived from a ferry over the River Po, which was granted to him for life, but afterwards became almost valueless by the establishment of a rival ferry. The Duke of Urbino, whose interest it was to keep the favor of the Pope, ceased to urge Angelo to carry out even his last and most easy contract. It was dangerous to trifle with the interests of a potentate who had just laid all England under interdict, and excommunicated its king (Henry VIII.). During this year died the generous and handsome Cardinal Ippolito de' Medici, who had been a firm friend of Titian and Angelo. The latter once admired his magnificent Turkish horse, and soon afterwards it was sent to the studio as a present, attended by ten mules laden with provender.

The execution of the immense fresco of 'The Last Judgment,' covering one end of the Sistine Chapel, had been devolved upon Angelo by Pope

Clement VII., in 1534, but probably it was not begun until early in 1535. The master had the wall lined with carefully-selected bricks, and made it lean forward at the top, to prevent dust from resting on the picture. Sebastiano del Piombo prepared it for painting in oil; but Angelo ordered the cement scraped off, observing that oil-painting was fit only for women and rich amateurs, but fresco was the method for men and artists. The opposite wall of the Chapel was to have been covered with a fresco representing the Fall of the Rebel Angels, for which Angelo made designs.

The Last Judgment had already been portrayed by Giotto, Orcagna, Fra Angelico, Signorelli, and others, with gravity and dignity in the main actions, and ludicrous inanities in the representation of the terrors of hell. The marvellous mystery alluded to in Revelation xx. 11–15, was the theme of those masters, and now challenged and defeated even Angelo's pencil. Vasari says that the master's great admiration for Luca Signorelli's picture of the same scene, at Orvieto, "led him to courteously make use of some parts of it, such as angels, demons, &c., and even to imitate Signorelli's manner, as anybody may see." While engaged on this work,

he used to paint a nude figure, larger than life, in two days; and he could have executed the entire work in a year, but that he needed such long periods of repose that over six years were consumed upon it, and it was not completed until late in 1541.

Towards the end of 1537 the fame of the new fresco going on in the Sistine Chapel had spread widely over Italy, and Pietro Aretino, Titian's intimate friend, wrote a long and sycophantic letter to the master, asking for a picture from his hand, and promising to pay for it by "heralding his genius." Angelo's answer shows at once his scorn of the venal parasite, and his fear of arousing his merciless satire.

When the painting was nearly done, Angelo fell from his scaffold, while at work, and injured his leg seriously. He was carried home, but with his usual eccentricity refused to allow any one to give him assistance, until the surgeon Rontini, his friend, forced a way in, and remained until the artist had recovered.

During one of his frequent visits to the Sistine Chapel, the Pope was attended by Biagio da Cesena, his master of ceremonies, whom he asked

for his opinion on the new fresco. Biagio bluntly answered that so many naked figures seemed to him very immodest, and rather fit for bath-rooms and stables than for a chapel. The angry artist took his revenge by painting a portrait of Biagio in the fresco, with asses' ears, acting as Minos, the master of ceremonies in hell. The injured official begged the Pope to have justice done, but Paul replied, "If the painter had placed thee in purgatory, I should have used every effort to help thee; but since he has put thee in hell, it is useless to have recourse to me, because *ex infernis nulla est redemptio.*" Nevertheless, Biagio was right, and the impropriety of using the great theme of the *Dies Iræ* as an opportunity for a painter to show his rare dexterity in depicting the naked human form was recognized by subsequent Popes; and Paul IV., after resolving to destroy the fresco, compromised by having the nude figures draped by Daniele da Volterra, who thereafter bore the nickname of "the breeches-maker." There are 314 figures and heads represented in this vast fresco which Lanzi calls "a profusion of nudity," and Hawthorne saw as "a sprawl of nakedness."

The composition of the fresco is marvellously

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clear, by reason of its skilful arrangement of four well-balanced groups; and the drawing of most of the figures is unsurpassably fine. Twenty-two years had elapsed since Angelo painted the vaulting of the Chapel, and he was sixty-six years old when the Last Judgment was finished; but the latter shows a great increase of power and facility, rather than a decadence, although he had done no fresco-painting in the mean time. He now had greater self-confidence, and his cartoons were hardly more than outlines. The coloring was of the monumental order, broad and carefully modelled, and marked by a realistic chiaroscuro very different from the poetic simplicity of the elder artists. Yet two noticeable faults are seen, in the monotonous similarity of the figures, and their appearance of the same age; while other indications show that he drew them without models, and hence without the variety of humanity.

In the upper arches of the wall are two garland-like groups of angels, bearing the Cross and the column of the Flagellation. Below these is Christ, the Rhadamanthine Judge, nearly nude, with the face of Apollo and the muscles of a gladiator, half-rising to pronounce the dread sentence, while He

points to the wound in His side. About Him are many renowned saints, — the Madonna, gazing mildly at the blessed and redeemed souls; Adam and Eve, curiously regarding the Judge; and a group of pleading Apostles, bearing their emblems. These are surrounded by a vast throng of saints and martyrs, safe in Heaven, all of whom exemplify the saying that "Michael Angelo nowhere admits, either into Heaven or Hell, any but the physically powerful." Below the Judge are four angels blowing trumpets towards the four quarters of the universe, and four others holding the books by which the dead are to be judged. Under these the land and sea are giving up their dead. On the right the blessed are caught upward, aided by angels, but with expressionless faces; and on the left the lost souls are being precipitated into the horrible pit, with exulting demons dragging them to their doom. In this last section the real power of the picture appears, in the utter terror and undying woe imprinted on the faces of the damned, mingled with intense agony and unavailing rage.

Whatever may have been its defects in other respects, as a work of art the Last Judgment was one of the grandest productions of the famous art-

century. But the vivid blue of the sky, the lurid flames of the Inferno, the varied glow of light and dark flesh-tints, have long since faded into a uniform dinginess, obscured by the smoke of candles and censers, overlaid with dust and cobwebs, daubed here and there by journeymen-restorers, and battered by the ladders of church-decorators.

In September, 1539, the patient Duke of Urbino wrote to Angelo, begging him that when the Last Judgment should be finished, he would remember his duty to Pope Julius II., and complete the long-delayed monument. The master showed his regard for Urbino by designing for him a great salt-cellar, which was executed in silver-gilt.

The architectural splendors of the Roman Capitol were now about to be revived by a society of patriotic citizens, and Angelo was chosen to design the work. He formed the plan of the Piazza del Campidoglio, as it now stands, although it was not completed for many years. The equestrian statue of Marcus Aurelius was brought hither, to serve as a central figure, and the façades of the Palaces of the Museum and of the Conservatori were rebuilt in the new manner of Angelo, with Corinthian pilasters superimposed on massive piers, and suc-

cessive stories of semi-templar architecture. He also planned the stairways to the Convent of the Aracœli, on the highest part of the hill, where the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus formerly stood; and the stairways to the Palace of the Senator were executed under his care, as an architectural background to the statue of Aurelius.

In 1542 the famous architect Sangallo finished the Pauline Chapel, in the Vatican; and Pope Paul III., after whom it was named, desired Angelo to adorn it with frescos. But the artist felt that he was already far gone in years, and that if he ever intended to finish the Julian monument he must now be about it, wherefore he earnestly opposed this new diversion of his time. The Pope once more appealed to the Duke of Urbino, and that courteous prince wrote to the master, telling him that he would be satisfied if he should place on the monument the three statues which he had finished, and supervise the execution of the other three by "any good and praiseworthy master."

Angelo commenced his work in the Pauline Chapel late in 1542, the year in which the Council of Trent began, and continued it throughout 1543 without remission. The Pope was now building a

magnificent palace for his family (Farnese), with Sangallo as the architect; and requested Angelo's opinion as to the design for its cornice. He submitted a harsh report, upbraiding the inconsistencies of Sangallo's plan, and quoting Vitruvius against him. He was called upon to build a stairway at the Belvedere Palace, and also to restore the ancient Bridge of Santa Maria, both of which tasks were successfully accomplished.

In June, 1544, the master was attacked by a serious illness, and his friends had him removed to the Strozzi Palace, where he was carefully tended by his dear companion, Luigi del Riccio, and frequently visited by the eminent men of Rome. He caused Luigi to send a message to the King of France, begging him to restore the liberties of Florence, and promising therefor to erect a bronze equestrian statue of His Majesty, free of cost, in the Piazza della Signoria. Leonardo Buonarroti came down from Florence to attend his sick uncle, but the old man would not receive him, saying that he had come only to secure his estate. His home had been an unpleasant one, and his relatives were sordid and rapacious, wherefore he would have none of them in his hours of extremity.

After many troubles, attested now by his passionate letters, the master succeeded in finishing the Julian monument, in the year 1545, and after forty years of bitter annoyance "the tragedy of the sepulchre" came to an end. The monument now stands in the lonely Church of San Pietro in Vincoli, of which Julius had been the titular Cardinal, and is adorned by seven statues, besides several terminal figures and other details. On the upper part is a recumbent figure of Julius, wretchedly executed by Maso del Bosco; and a pleasing group of the Madonna and Child, blocked out by Angelo, and finished by Montelupo. At the sides are the inferior statues of the Prophet and the Sibyl, which Angelo designed and carried far forward, and Montelupo completed. On the lower stage are the statues of Moses, Rachel, and Leah, nearly all parts of which were finished by the great master himself. Rachel is kneeling, with her eyes and hands uplifted as if in prayer, and represents the Contemplative Life; and Leah, with her mirror and wreath of flowers, personifies the Active Life. In these figures, larger than life-size, Angelo followed the inspiration of Dante, but very far off.

The statue of Moses, the friend of God, redeems

all the defects of other parts of the monument, in its rare power and grandeur. The great lawgiver is shown in a sitting posture, but is starting forward under the influence of strong and sudden emotion, clutching his long beard with one hand, and gazing with a look of mingled indignation and contempt. Near the top of his forehead two horns project, a representation arising from an erroneous translation of a Hebrew word, so that the Vulgate Bible renders Exodus xxxiv. 29, "He knew not that his face was horned," instead of "He wist not that the skin of his face shone." The drapery is finished with great skill, and shows the strong and graceful outlines of the body beneath. Vasari says that after the Moses was finished, crowds of Jews came to see it every Saturday, adoring it as a divine work.

When the Pope determined to fortify the Leonine City, the part of Rome in which the Vatican stands, he appointed a commission of artillerists and engineers to plan the work, with Angelo and others as consulting architects. The master had sharp words with Sangallo, even in the Papal presence, and forced important changes to be made in the defences.

In 1545 Titian dwelt in Rome for several months, painting portraits of the Farnese princes; and Angelo visited him in a friendly manner, and commended his coloring, but not his drawing, saying also, "He has an exquisite perception, and a delightful spirit and manner."

Early in 1546 the master fell so ill that it was widely reported that he was dead, and Leonardo Buonarroti hastened to Rome once more to see him. But he quickly recovered, and sent large gifts of money to his family in Florence. He was soon able to attend the meetings of the fortifications commission, where he steadily opposed Sangallo, and offered plans of his own devising. About this time, also, King Francis I. of France sent Primaticcio to secure for him a specimen of Angelo's work; and the gratified artist promised, even at his great age, to prepare for him a work in marble, another in bronze, and a painting. "Should death interrupt this desire, then, if it be possible to sculpture or paint in the other world, I shall not fail to do so, where no one becomes old." During this year he lost his income from the ferry on the River Po, and declined the chancellorship of Rimini, which the Pope offered him as a com-

pensation. The roof of the Pauline Chapel was partly destroyed by fire, about this time, and the inchoate frescos were menaced with destruction.

The master next added a magnificent classic cornice to the Farnese Palace, a part of his original design having been executed in wood and put up on the façade, and when the Pope approved it, it was duplicated in stone. The upper story of this most sumptuous palace was constructed by the master; and the plan of its admirable arcaded court was adapted by him from that of the Theatre of Marcellus (whence, and from the Coliseum, the stone for the palace was taken). He also made the plans for a bridge over the Tiber, to connect the Farnese Palace with the Villa Farnesina.

There are several fine palaces in Florence, Pisa, Bologna, and other North-Italian cities, which it is claimed were built from Angelo's designs. Numerous fountains, cloisters, and statues, in those cities are referred to the same origin; and the claims are probably justifiable in some cases.

CHAPTER VII.

Vittoria Colonna. — Angelo's Poetry. — Leonardo Buonarroti. — Pupils and Friends. — Mode of Work.

INTO these late years of the lonely life of the great Angelo, a new element of joy and elevation entered, in the noble friendship of Vittoria Colonna. She was born in 1490 at the Colonna castle of Marino, and was the daughter of Fabrizio Colonna and Agnes of Montefeltro. When five years old she was betrothed to Ferrante, the son of the Marquis of Pescara, whom she married in her nineteenth year; and lived thereafter in great happiness, he being a handsome and courteous noble, famous in war as well as in letters and art. Their palace in the island of Ischia was the resort of the great scholars and captains of Italy for years, until the fatal ambition of Ferrante led him to betray his country for the vain bauble of the crown of Naples; and amid his schemes and campaigns, he died, of wounds received at the battle of Pavia, in 1525. Vittoria was inconsolable for the loss of

her, brilliant and gifted husband, and desired to enter a nunnery; but the Pope forbade, and she retired for rest to the Roman convent of San Silvestro in Capite, a dependency of the Colonna family, annexed to their palace-garden. There she remained for years, "to weep, to pray, to study, to write, and to stretch out her hands with benefits for her kind," until her mind became once more serene, and she returned to the society of her rank. Nearer than all others was the venerable painter of the Sistine Chapel, into whose stormy and unhappy career she brought an unwonted peace and brightness. He first met her at some time between 1532 and 1536, and enjoyed her deep attachment for fifteen years.

Angelo designed two or three pictures for Vittoria, of one of which she wrote: "I had the greatest faith in God, that He would give you a supernatural grace to paint this Christ; then I saw it, so wonderful that it surpassed in every way my expectations. Being emboldened by your miracles, I desired that which I now see marvellously fulfilled, that is, that it should stand in every part in the highest perfection, and that one could not desire more nor reach forward to desire so much.

And I tell you that it gave me joy that the angel on the right hand is so beautiful; for the Archangel Michael will place you, Michael Angelo, on the right hand of the Lord at the Judgment-Day. And meanwhile I know not how to serve you otherwise than to pray to this sweet Christ, Whom you have so well and perfectly painted, and to entreat you to command me as altogether yours in all and through all." Angelo also drew the portrait of Vittoria, which Marcello Venusti painted, showing a tall and stately figure in black velvet, with a white widow's veil, and a noble but weary face, filled with deep repose.

In 1541 the cause of the reformation of the Church from within appeared hopeless; and the triumvirate of saintly women, Vittoria Colonna, Renée of Ferrara, and Margaret of Navarre, though aided by the English Cardinal Pole and the Venetian Cardinal Contarini, lost heart amid the general demoralization of the clergy. Pole retired to Viterbo, accompanied by Vittoria and her friends; and Contarini died of grief and disappointment, at Bologna. But Vittoria was still and ever a Colonna, and endured the new reverses with dignity and fortitude.

She gave to Angelo a vellum book, containing 103 of her sonnets, and afterwards sent to him the 40 new ones which she composed at the convent of Viterbo. He probably returned the favor by sending to her, with whom he was in continual correspondence, the verses which he himself composed. In 1542 she wrote from Viterbo, saying: "Magnificent Master, Michael Angelo: I have not answered your letter before, thinking that if you and I continue to write according to my obligation and your courtesy, it will be necessary that I leave St. Catherine's Chapel, without finding myself with the Sisters at the appointed hours, and that you must abandon the Pauline Chapel, and not keep yourself all the day long in sweet colloquy with your paintings, . . . so that I from the brides of Christ, and you from His Vicar, shall fall away." Thus this pure soul, yearning to sever itself from all earthly ties, and to prepare itself for Heaven, took measures to break off the congenial correspondence which still sometimes recalled it to the affairs of time.

During the last years of Vittoria's life, she remained in Rome, and frequently called upon Angelo where he was at work, while many were the

visits which he made at her house. They seldom spoke of love, but rather of religion, of poesy, and of art, in the absorbing pursuit of lofty and divine thoughts. Among the members of the circle of which Vittoria was the chief ornament were Cardinals Sadoleto, Pole, and Morone, with whom she doubtless spoke much of the reforming doctrines then advancing in the Church. She was deeply influenced by the earnest preaching and holy life of Fra Bernardino of Siena (Fra Ochino), and said, "May it please God to let him persevere in his good work!" but after he had become a Protestant, she sadly rejected his teachings, and wrote to Pope Marcellus that Ochino was "out of the Ark which saves and protects."

Like his spiritual and saintly lady, Angelo shared in the wide-spread hope that a reformation was about to occur within the Church, and transferred to Ochino the same earnest support which he had formerly given to Savonarola. But when the Pope drove out the purifying innovators with the sword of the Inquisition, he remained in the Church, as Vittoria also did, although some of his sonnets are filled with a spirit of pure religion such as was not common at Rome in his day.

Angelo was indeed ready for the upward movement of the Church, for which he felt the deep need, in view of the degradation of the clergy. When he heard that Sebastiano was about to paint the figure of a monk in a certain chapel, he said that it would ruin the chapel. "The monks have corrupted the whole world: a single one, therefore, is sufficient to spoil a small chapel." He was quick to detect and resent hypocrisy in the laity also, an amusing instance of which he shows in a letter to his nephew: "To-day I have had a letter from the weaver's wife, who says that she wished to provide a wife for thee. . . . She has written me a long Bible with a small sermon, advising me to live righteously and to give alms; and she says that she has inspired thee to live like a Christian, and that she was moved by God to give thee that damsel. I should say that she would be better occupied in spinning and weaving than in disposing of so much sanctimoniousness."

In the winter of 1544–5 Vittoria retired to the Benedictine nunnery of St. Anna, the Colonna palaces having been confiscated by the Pope, and there remained in peace, composing poems filled with sweet and saintly thoughts, and devout prayers

in the Latin tongue. Early in 1547 she was stricken with a mortal illness, and was removed to the palace of her noble kinswoman, Giulia (Colonna) Cesarini, where she soon died, surrounded by grieving friends. Angelo wrote four sonnets to her memory, into which he poured his whole soul, with all the earnestness and vitality, ingenuity and quaintness, which characterized the poems addressed to her while yet living.

Condivi, Angelo's pupil, says: "He deeply loved the Marchioness of Pescara, of whose divine spirit he was enamoured, while she tenderly loved him in return; and of whom he still holds many letters, filled with honest and most sweet love, such as should issue from such a heart, he himself having written to her many sonnets replete with talent and sweet longing. Many times she moved from Viterbo and other places, where she went for recreation, and to spend the summers, and came to Rome, for no other reason than to see Michael Angelo. And he bore such a love to her, that I remember to have heard him say, that he grieved at nothing so much as that when he went to see her pass from this life, he had not kissed her brow or her face, as he kissed her hand. After her death he frequently stood

trembling and as if insensible. . . . I have often heard him speak about love; and others who have listened to him on this subject will bear me out in saying that the only love of which he spoke was that kind which is spoken of in Plato's works. For my part, I do not know what Plato says, but one thing I, who have lived with him so long and so intimately, can assert, that I have never heard any but the purest words issue from his mouth." A priest one day asked him why he had never married, and he answered, "I have a wife who is too much for me already; one who unceasingly persecutes me. It is my art; and my works are my children."

Angelo wrote verses even from his youth, when he was under the influence of the poets of the Medici household; but his most fruitful period in this regard was that of his later years, when he enjoyed the friendship of Vittoria Colonna. His rare originality and loftiness of mind, as reflected in these sonnets, and the crystallizations of his religious and patriotic aspirations therein preserved, can only be alluded to here. Giannotti praised the Dantesque form of Angelo's poems, Berni called them a mine of Platonic philosophy, and Varchi reviewed them before the Florentine Academy. Several of

the madrigals were set to music by eminent Italian composers. In 1623 the collected poems were published by Angelo's namesake and grand-nephew; and in 1863 a fuller edition was published by Guasti, with essays by Guiducci and Varchi. Wordsworth, Coleridge, Symonds, Longfellow, and Norton have translated many of them, with great care and success. Wordsworth said that Angelo's poems are "the most difficult to construe I ever met with, but just what you would expect from such a man, showing abundantly how conversant his soul was with great things."

Although Angelo's poetry is more in the manner of Petrarch, his works of art suggest the profound influence of Dante. His copy of Dante was a large folio, with Landino's commentaries; and on its broad margins he made many pen-and-ink sketches of the themes suggested by the text. This priceless book was afterwards lost by shipwreck. Condivi says that his master knew the Divina Commedia by heart, and he also committed to memory nearly all of Petrarch's sonnets.

Angelo's power as a poet can best be illustrated by two of his sonnets, in Wordsworth's translations, the first to Christ, the second to Dante: —

"Eternal Lord! eased of a cumbrous load,
And loosened from the world, I turn to Thee;
Shun, like a shattered bark, the storm, and flee
To Thy protection for a safe abode.
The crown of thorns, hands pierced upon the tree,
The meek, benign, and lacerated face,
To a sincere repentance promise grace,
To the sad soul give hope of pardon free.
With justice mark not Thou, O Light divine,
My fault, nor hear it with Thy sacred ear;
Neither put forth that way Thy hand severe:
Wash with Thy blood my sins; thereto incline
More readily, the more my years require
Help and forgiveness speedy and entire"

"How shall we speak of him, for our blind eyes
Are all unequal to his dazzling rays!
Easier it is to blame his enemies
Than for the tongue to tell his highest praise.
For us did he explore the realms of woe;
And at his coming did high heaven expand
Her lofty gates, to whom his native land
Refused to open hers. Yet shalt thou know,
Ungrateful city, in thine own despite,
That thou hast foster'd best thy Dante's fame;
For virtue when oppressed appears more bright,
And brighter therefore shall his glory be,
Suffering of all mankind most wrongfully,
Since in the world there lives no greater name."

During these later years the master kept up a constant correspondence with Leonardo, his favorite nephew, who frequently sent him presents of rich Trebbian wine, cheeses, fruits, and other delicacies. He tells but little concerning his works in art, but speaks frequently of the infirmities of age, and of his maladies, and directs the disposal of considerable sums of money which he sent for charities. He not only gave much wise counsel to his nephew, but also aided him in more material ways, yet he refused to allow him to throw away money by coming to Rome. Leonardo had been his agent in purchasing several estates near Florence, and he afterwards asked him to buy for him a house in the city, in the home-quarter of the Buonarroti. The suburban properties thus acquired — the Capiteto farm, in 1506; La Loggia, in 1512; Fitto, in 1519; and various other Tuscan estates — were for the most part allowed to benefit his family, to whom their rentals passed.

His deep interest in Leonardo Buonarroti was manifested, now by the most endearing language, and now by fiery denunciations. He was greatly interested in selecting a wife for the young man, by whom the family name and property might be

transmitted. Thus he advised: "Leonardo, I wrote to thee about taking a wife, and told thee of three girls which have here been mentioned to me. . . . I do not know any of them, and cannot say either good or evil of them, nor advise you about one more than the other. . . . Giovan Francesco might give you good advice: he is old, and knows the world. Remember me to him. Above all, seek the counsel of God, for it is a great step. Remember that the husband should be at least ten years older than the wife, and that she should be healthy." Again he wrote: "Leonardo, I sent thee in my last a note of marriageable girls, which had been sent me from Florence. . . . Thou needest a wife to associate with, and whom thou canst rule, and who will not care about pomps, and run about every day to parties and marriages. It is easy for a woman to go wrong who does these things. Nor is it to be said by any one, that thou wishest to ennoble thyself by marriage; for it is well known that we are as ancient and noble citizens of Florence as those of any other house. Recommend thyself to God, that he may aid thee."

At last, in 1553, Leonardo acceded to his uncle's wishes, and married Cassandra Ridolfi, upon

whom Angelo settled 1,500 ducats, sending her also two precious rings. Henceforward it was the old man's delight to write to the young couple, exulting in the birth of their children, and pragmatically dictating the names of the new-born Buonarroti. The fair Cassandra also returned to him messages of love and kindly gifts.

Angelo had a great taste for genealogical studies, and an overweening pride of family, believing himself to be descended from the Counts of Canossa. He narrated to Leonardo his researches as to the history of the Buonarroti, and said, "Some day when I have time I shall inform you of our origin, and whence and when we came to Florence." Again he wrote: "Tell the priest not to address 'Michael Angelo, Sculptor,' for I am known only as Michael Angelo Buonarroti: if a Florentine citizen wishes to have a picture painted for an altar, let him find a painter, for I never was painter nor sculptor, as those who make merchandise of it."

The house which Leonardo finally built, at his uncle's order, is on the Via Ghibellina, near Santa Croce, and now belongs to the city of Florence, being the seat of a museum of designs and casts

by the great master, pictures and busts of the Buonarroti family, idealized pictures of scenes in Angelo's life, and other priceless mementos. It is a large and substantial house, with antique and inconvenient rooms.

Angelo's abode at Rome was near the Forum of Trajan, in the valley between the Capitoline and Quirinal Hills, and has since been destroyed. It consisted of a group of houses, among which were the residence-building, the studio, dwellings for the assistants, a stable, and a tower. The estate also included a small garden, abounding in shady laurel-trees. For many years Francesco d'Urbino was the major-domo, and dwelt there with his family; and there was also a maid-servant, the daughter of a neighbor.

Among the artists who felt Angelo's influence and direction, besides Vasari, Condivi, Urbano, Mini, and Sebastiano, was Guglielmo della Porta, who succeeded Sebastiano as Keeper of the Papal Seal, by Angelo's intercession. He was associated with the master at the Farnese Palace, and in other works of architecture and sculpture. Another eminent coadjutor at the Farnese was Vignola, who succeeded Angelo as Architect of St. Peter's and of

the Capitol, and built the Porta del Popolo from his plans. Ammanati also derived from personal contact with the master much of that boldness of conception which enabled him to erect the colossal statues of Neptune and Hercules, at Florence and Padua, and the gigantic statue of Mount Apennine, 60 feet high, at Pratolino. Tribolo, the designer of the Boboli Gardens, was another of those who were illuminated by Angelo's genius, having been his assistant in the Medicean Chapel. Marco da Pino of Siena held the position of a friend and confidant, and subsequently adorned the Kingdom of Naples, with both paintings and architecture. Berruguete, the Spaniard, who built the Alcalà Palace, and executed other great works in his own country, studied under the care of Angelo. Alessi, the constructor of the fortress of Perugia, and the designer of many of the superb palaces of Genoa, was connected with the same great master in his early life. Calcagni, a young Florentine architect, dwelt with Angelo during his last decade, and drew many plans under his direction.

Daniele da Volterra was one of Angelo's warmest friends, and received the most material assistance from him, both officially and socially. The master

furnished the design from which he painted his most famous work, 'The Deposition from the Cross,' in the Church of SS. Trinità de' Monti.

Marcello Venusti was a young Mantuan artist, who came under Angelo's patronage at Rome, and painted many pictures from his grand designs, enlightening them with a delicate and exquisitely-finished coloring. Among these joint works, now of inestimable value, were the small copy of the Last Judgment, the portrait of Vittoria Colonna, the Christ on the Mount of Olives, and a noble and innocent Holy Family. Venusti also painted pictures from several of the designs which Angelo drew for Cavalieri, — notably an Annunciation, now in the Laterań sacristy.

Tommaso de' Cavalieri, a member of one of the old Roman families, and a man of amiable mind and charming manners, became one of Angelo's most beloved and intimate friends, and was addressed by him, as early as 1545, in impassioned and eulogistic letters. He gave him several sketches and cartoons, since he was an amateur artist, and also drew his portrait. Cavalieri was present at the death-bed of his aged friend, many years later. Another dear friend was Luigi del Riccio, the intendant of the

Strozzi Palace, one of his wisest and most constant advisers. When the youth Cecchino Bracci, beloved by Riccio, died, Angelo designed a monument for him (now in the Aracœli Church), and wrote no fewer than forty-three epitaphs, from which Riccio should select one to be carved on the tomb.

Lomazzo says that Cardinal Farnese once met Angelo, during his later years, in solitary contemplation amid the ruins of the Coliseum, and he answered the prelate's query by saying, "I go yet to school, that I may continue to learn." He once drew a picture of an old man in a child's carriage, with the motto, "I still learn." The anatomical studies begun in his youth, at Florence, were never given up, and when other subjects were wanting he dissected horses and domestic animals. He was greatly pleased by a gift from Colombo, of the body of a fine young Moor, which he dissected at Condivi's house. The anatomical treatises of Dürer and Da Vinci were known to him, and he intended to write a similar work, but of broader scope. He had often declared that he owed his power of representing the human form to his frequent contemplation of the wonderful fragment of

antique Greek sculpture, known as the Torso Belvedere. Even in his later years, when he had abandoned sculpture and painting, he was accustomed to visit the Vatican as often as possible, in order to admire and enjoy the grand lines of the Torso. Allston finds in this headless and limbless trunk the germ of the gigantic prophets and Sibyls of the Sistine Chapel. (The statement advanced by Hare, and others, that he was led hither, being blind, is unfounded, since he retained all his faculties to the last.)

Such was the delicacy of his taste in regard to the implements of his art, that he was accustomed to make his own piercers, files, and chisels, and to prepare, mix, and manipulate his own colors.

From childhood he had been troubled by a weak constitution, and had been remarkably abstemious and continent, saying, "However rich I may have been, I have always lived as a poor man." He slept but little, and ate irregularly; and was subject to frequent headaches and attacks of indigestion. In later years he was troubled by cramp in the legs, for whose relief he wore tightly-fitting drawers of dog-skin. He frequently rose from his bed, during the night, to carve or design, placing on his head a

cap with a candle fixed in its front, so that his hands were left at liberty. He rarely gave or accepted invitations to dine out, and was averse to compromising his freedom by receiving any attentions or gifts.

Vigenero described Angelo's mode of work thus: "I have seen Michael Angelo, although sixty years of age, and not one of the most robust of men, smite down more scales from a very hard block of marble in a quarter of an hour, than three young marble-cutters could in three or four times that space, which must seem incredible to those who have not seen it done.. He flung himself upon the marble with such impetuosity and fervor, as to induce me to believe that he would break the work into fragments. With a single blow he brought down scales of marble of three or four inches breadth, and with such precision to the line marked on the marble, that if he had broken away a very little more, he risked the ruin of his work."

CHAPTER VIII.

The Basilica of St. Peter's. — The Pauline Chapel. — Florentine Offers. — The Great Dome. — The Last Sculpture. — Death of Angelo.

SANGALLO died in the autumn of 1546, and Angelo was immediately appointed to his place as Architect of St. Peter's, although he objected, saying, as often before, that architecture was not his profession. He was also commissioned to build the bulwarks and redoubts of the Leonine City, from which he was in time relieved by Castriotto, a veteran of Urbino. The master was seventy-one years old when he accepted the control of St. Peter's, and the remaining eighteen years of his life were sacredly devoted to it. He refused all remuneration, and insisted that his services should be devoted solely to the honor of God and of St. Peter, whereby he was able to defy the intrigues of his rivals and adversaries, and to repress the peculations of his subordinates. He took up the work projected by others, and endeavored to restore

Bramante's original plan of a Greek cross, repudiating Sangallo's deviations therefrom, and saying that "Any one who departs from Bramante's plan, like Sangallo, departs from the truth." The partisans of the preceding architect maintained a deep and intriguing hostility against Angelo; and he was led to hasten the work on St. Peter's greatly, in order that it might be so far finished at his death that the plans could not be altered by his enemies. In writing to Vasari, he said: "I should love to lay my bones near those of my father, as you urge me to do; but, did I leave Rome at present, I should be the cause of great harm to St. Peter's, bring disgrace upon myself, and commit a grievous sin." Out of the confusion wrought by the diverse plans of Raphael, Peruzzi, and Sangallo, traversing the first design of Bramante, Angelo was forced to call order, not by selecting one of the previous plans obscured by ill-devised additions, but by a new creation of his own.

His first studies seem to have been directed towards designing a more imposing dome than those which his predecessors had planned, and the indomitable old man boldly said that he would suspend the dome of the Pantheon in air, over

the tomb of St. Peter. We cannot ascertain where he acquired the great mathematical knowledge essential to this work, unless perchance it was during his exile among the marble mountains; for he certainly had no such privileges in his youth, and the architecture of his maturer years is defective in many ways.

Late in 1547 Duke Cosmo de' Medici offered to make Angelo a Senator of Florence, and to give him any other office which he might wish, if he would return to the Tuscan capital, and complete his abandoned works, and undertake certain new ones. But this invitation was declined, since too many and great enterprises were under way in Rome. Volterra reported, some years later, that "he absented himself from his beloved Florence only on account of the quality of the air, experience having taught him that it was inimical to his nature on account of its sharp and subtile nature; while the softer and more tempered climate of Rome kept him in good health up to his ninetieth year, with all his faculties as perfect and vigorous as they ever had been."

The venerable master, tortured with the pains of disease, still kept at his work on the scaffolds in the

Pauline Chapel, although he wrote to Vasari that it cost him "much fatigue, for it appears that fresco-painting is not an art for old men." Early in 1549 he wrote to Leonardo, saying: "I have been very ill, groaning all night with pain, unable to sleep, without rest. The doctors tell me that my disease is stone. I have need of help from God. Tell Francesca to pray for me, for if she saw how I am she would know that she has a companion in misery. Otherwise I am like a man who is not yet quite thirty years of age." Later in the spring he was greatly relieved by drinking a certain water brought from a spring forty miles from Rome, and wrote: "With regard to my disease, I am better; and now there is hope, to the astonishment of all, for I was thought to be dying, and so I believed. I have had a good physician, but I believe more in the efficacy of prayer."

The frescos in the Pauline Chapel were finished in 1549, seven years after their beginning, during which period there were many long intermissions of labor and diversions to other duties. The subjects are the Conversion of St. Paul and the Crucifixion of St. Peter. The last frescos of Michael Angelo can only be spoken of with respect and

forbearance. Indeed, they have been so disfigured by neglect and restoration that it is impossible to imagine what their original colors were.

The Pope summoned Angelo to explain certain alleged defects in St. Peter's of which the deputies complained, especially as to the deficient light in the King's alcove, and the master demanded to hear the complainers speak. Cardinal Marcello answering for them, Angelo rejoined and made a satisfactory explanation, at which the Cardinal showed his surprise at not having before been informed. But the fearless architect replied: "I am not, nor will I consent to be, obliged to tell, to Your Eminence or any one else, what I ought or wish to do. Your office is to bring money, and guard it from thieves, and the designing of the building is left to me." Then he said to the Pope: "Holy Father, you see what I gain: if these fatigues which I endure do not benefit my soul, I lose both time and labor." The Pope, who loved him, laid his hands on his shoulders, and said: "You benefit both soul and body: do not doubt."

Late in the same year Pope Paul III. died, and was succeeded by Pope Julius III., who was as ardent an admirer of the great sculptor as his pre-

decessors had been. All the master's many enemies and the partisans of Sangallo gathered around the Pope, to poison his mind so that he might depose the Architect of St. Peter's, but without success. During this year Vasari was sojourning in Rome, and enjoyed almost daily rides and conversations with Angelo, for whom he had a filial love. After his return to Florence, for many years he solaced the declining years of his master by his sprightly letters and other attentions. In 1551 Angelo wrote to Benvenuto Cellini, whom he praised as "the greatest goldsmith who ever lived," and also as a noble sculptor. His letters to Florence express an earnest desire to return home, but show that he must remain in Rome and hurry the works on St. Peter's, so that his successors could not alter the design. He was much annoyed during these years by the meddling of the Bishop of Forli, the Papal chamberlain, whom he derisively called *Tante-cose*, or Busybody.

Early in 1552 Julius III. confirmed Angelo as Architect of St. Peter's, giving him extended and absolute authority, and forbidding any interference with his plans. The Sangallist party still menaced him, with their deep intrigues; but he was now

proof against slander, and far less sensitive than in his earlier years.

In 1553 Ascanio Condivi, one of Angelo's pupils, published a biography of his master, written in great haste, to anticipate other works of like character, but full of interest on account of its author's intimate knowledge of his subject. Vasari's great biographical work on all the Italian artists had appeared in 1550, containing forty-five pages about Angelo, who had been his former master. The sculptor acknowledged Vasari's work by an affectionate sonnet.

Condivi thus described the master's personal appearance at this time: "Of middle height, with broad shoulders and thin legs, having a large head, a face small in proportion to the size of his skull, a square forehead, full temples, high cheek-bones, and a nose made flat by the fist of that beastly and proud man, Torrigiano. His lips are thin, and the lower, being the larger, appears to protrude slightly when his face is seen in profile. His eyebrows are sparse; his eyes small, gray, spotted with yellow and blue lights, and ever varying; his hair, once black, is streaked with gray, as is his thin forked beard, which is four or five fingers'

breadth in length." This face is reproduced in eight authentic portraits, namely, Daniele of Volterra's bronze bust and a face in his fresco of the Assumption, Leone's medal, a head in Venusti's copy of 'The Last Judgment,' a portrait by Venusti, a posthumous bust from a mask, Buonasoni's engraving, and another engraving attributed to Angelo himself.

Pope Julius III. died in 1555, and was succeeded (after the brief reign of Pope Marcellus II.) by Cardinal Caraffa, who took the name of Paul IV. Paul confirmed the Architect of St. Peter's in his position and authority, for which he now believed he had a divine legation. During the same year, Angelo's beloved assistant, Amadore of Urbino, died, and he wrote: "He has been with me twenty-six years, and I found him loyal and faithful; and now that I have made him rich, and that I expected him to be the staff and rest of my old age, he has vanished from me, and no hope is left me, but to see him in Paradise. Of this, God has given me a sign in his happy death, and that it grieved him to leave me to live in this treacherous world, with its many sorrows, far more than to die." Giovan Simone Buonarroti died in

1548, deeply mourned by Angelo; and in 1555 his last remaining brother, Sigismondo, also died, after a long and arduous military life, followed by a few years of repose on his farm at Settignano. Angelo was filled with grief by these deaths, and wrote appealingly (but without avail) to Leonardo: "It would be dear for me to see you, but I know not how your love of your wife would permit you to leave Florence;" and again, "I am old, and I wish to see you before I die."

The Medici Duke of Florence now renewed his petitions to Angelo to return to the Tuscan capital, and even sent his chamberlain to Rome to make him munificent offers; but the master declined, though moved by the warmest gratitude, saying: "You must see by my handwriting that I touch the twenty-fourth hour, and no thought is now born in my mind in which death is not mixed. God grant that a few years of labor may yet be mine!" About the year 1557 the Duke of Florence visited Angelo in Rome, and had a long and familiar conversation with him. His son, also, Prince Francesco, paid his respects to the master, and showed his reverence by speaking to him with uncovered head.

At this time the great master was earnestly musing upon the approach of death, and communing with his spirit to prepare for the inevitable change. The deep experiences of religion which he had undergone during his long and blameless life were now reviewed, and the noble counsels of Savonarola and of Vittoria Colonna rose paramount in his memory, though perhaps not unaffected by the philosophic doctrines of the Medicean Neo-Platonists. The two sonnets sent to Vasari, at this time, "that you may see where I keep my thoughts," were vitalized by Christian humility and hope, and filled with the spirit of prayer. The following is from the translation of one of them in Bohn's Vasari: —

"Now in frail bark, and on the storm-tossed wave,
Doth this my life approach the common port,
Whither all haste to render up account
Of every act, — the erring and the just.
Wherefore I now do see, that by the love
Which rendered Art mine idol and my lord,
I did much err. Vain are the loves of man,
And error lurks within his every thought.
Light hours of this my life, where are ye now,
When towards a twofold death my foot draws near?

The one well-known, the other threatening loud, —
Not the erst worshipped Art can now give peace
To him whose soul turns to that Love Divine,
Whose arms shall lift him from the Cross to Heaven."

In 1556 the Pope determined to destroy the influence of Spain in Italy, whereupon his States were invaded by the Duke of Alva, whose light cavalry soon appeared before the Roman gates. The devout Duke respectfully defeated the army which the Pope had blessed and sent against him, and with great courtesy checked the anti-Spanish intrigues. The works on St. Peter's lagged during these excitements, and the architect, who had already seen enough of the horrors of sieges, left Rome for forty days, intending to make a religious pilgrimage to Loreto; but he went no farther than Spoleto, where he enjoyed a delicious season of repose, which he thus described to Vasari: "I have lately had, at some cost of money and fatigue, a great pleasure in the mountains of Spoleto, in visiting those hermits, so that but a part of me has returned to Rome; for in truth peaceful existence dwells in those woods." This is the only direct compliment which Michael Angelo ever paid to Nature.

Cosmo de' Medici was still urging Angelo to return to Florence, and he promised to do so after the works on St. Peter's were a little further advanced, explaining the necessity of his remaining yet a year longer. He was now suffering from the gout, the stone, and other afflictions, but still kept his place as the active designer, supervisor, and soul of the basilica, and vigilantly remedied all the errors of his subordinates. The Pope courteously intervened between his architect and the Duke of Florence, and persuaded the latter to curb his ardent desire to summon back the great Tuscan artist. In 1559 Catherine de' Medici wrote to Angelo, entreating him, by his love for her family, to make a design for a colossal bronze equestrian portrait-statue of her late husband, Henry II. of France, to be placed in her palace-court. Daniele da Volterra attended to the casting in bronze, and the horse was finished before he died; but the statue of the rider had not been commenced. Afterwards a statue of Louis XIII. was placed upon the horse, and set up in the Place Royale, at Paris, where it was destroyed during the French Revolution.

Angelo's powers as a painter and a sculptor were

now in abeyance, and all his soul was thrown into his architectural studies, in preparing the greatest triumph of modern constructive genius. The sublime dome of St. Peter's took form in his mind, and he had a wooden model thereof made, nearly seventeen feet high, so that his successors might have no excuse for deviating from his plans. The design included three domes, rising from the same base concentrically, — the inner one duplicating that of the Pantheon, the second supporting the lantern, and the third or outer one (of wood) to give majesty to the exterior of the basilica. The architecture was Corinthian, and a coronal of statues of saints surrounded the base of the outer curve. In spite of all precautions, however, Angelo's successors seriously impaired the grandeur of his plans by omitting the inner dome, constructing the two others of brick (bound with iron chains at the weak points), and omitting the great circle of statues. While Angelo was engaged on the building, his orders were to study for magnificence and grandeur, rather than economy; and the expense of the works under his administration was nearly 440,000 ducats. He was asked if the new dome would surpass that at Florence,

and said: "It will be more grand, but not more beautiful." The great defect in the construction of St. Peter's, by which the nave is prolonged so far as to hide the dome from those near the church, was not due to Angelo, who projected a cross of equal arms, which Fontana afterwards changed to a Latin cross. The parti-colored marbles of the interior, and other deformities, were added by Bernini and his successors.

Among the dead of 1558 was Pontormo, an artist of whom Angelo had said, many years previous, "If this young man's life is spared, he will raise our Art to the skies." He had been a pupil of Leonardo da Vinci and Andrea del Sarto, and was afterwards favored with several designs by Angelo, from which he painted pictures.

Paul IV. died in 1559, and was succeeded by Pius IV., who confirmed the architect in his position, and caused Nanni Bigio, his inveterate and insidious enemy, to be dismissed from office. The Board of Works complained that Angelo was imperious and dogmatic, refusing to confer with them, and making many unnecessary demolitions without advice, so that they were little better than parrots. He answered Cardinal da Carpi, preferring to re-

sign his position rather than to submit his plans to a mere financial committee.

Among the minor works of Angelo's old age were several designs for the National Church of the Florentines at Rome, for the stairway of the Laurentian Library, and for the monument of the Marquis of Marignano, in Milan Cathedral. He also furnished plans for several of the Roman gates, which Pius IV. wished to rebuild with greater magnificence. The best of these was the Porta Pia, which was subsequently restored by Pius IX., and was badly shattered by the Italian bombardment in 1870. Another structure designed at this time was the Sforza Chapel, in the Basilica of Santa Maria Maggiore, which Della Porta completed.

In 1561 Angelo finished one of his chief architectural works, the erection of the Church of St. Mary of the Angels, and a Carthusian monastery, amid the ruins of the Baths of Diocletian. The chief feature of these ruins was a great vaulted hall, with splendid monolithic columns of red Egyptian granite; and this the venerable architect converted into a church, a production then full of harmony and beauty, but in a later age disfigured by Vanvitelli's alterations. The convent-cloisters adjoining

the church are embellished with a hundred light and graceful columns, and surround a court whose sparkling fountain is shaded by sombre cypresses. There is a tradition that Angelo himself planted these trees, whose huge trunks and majestic frondage form such a conspicuous ornament in the old convent.

In 1561 the master remembered his debt to the Piccolomini family for non-fulfilment of contract to carve certain statues for their chapel at Siena, and made reparation therefor, the Archbishop of Siena acting as arbitrator in the matter.

Angelo's last work in sculpture was a group of the Virgin and the dead Christ, with two other figures, all larger than life, none of which, except the Christ, were ever finished. He intended that this group should be placed on an altar over his own tomb, but it is now in the Cathedral of Florence. It was the occupation of his leisure hours for many years, oftentimes at night, when he rose from his couch of unrest to labor in solitude and silence.

In 1563 Angelo was elected Vice-President of the Florentine Academy of Fine Arts, of which Cosmo de' Medici was the founder and President.

Cosmo ordered the Florentine ambassador at Rome to look out that the venerable artist was well cared for; and his family and friends sent him frequent gifts of wine and fruits. Many devoted friends visited his house, and many assistants also, who bore for him a filial love.

In the winter of 1563–4 the master's strength failed rapidly, under the attacks of his painful malady. In February he felt that the end was approaching, and sent for his friend Daniele of Volterra, who brought with him Ascano Condivi, Angelo's pupil and biographer. "Daniele, my friend," he cried, "it is all over with me; I entreat you not to leave me." He dictated a letter to Leonardo Buonarroti, which Diomede Leoni enclosed in another written by himself, urging the Florentine to hasten to Rome.

Angelo's physicians watched him closely, and his Roman friends staid with him continually; while the slow fever undermined the citadel of life. On the 15th of February, he vainly endeavored to take his usual evening ride, but his head and legs were too weak, and he returned to his chair by the fireside. He refused to take to his

bed until the 20th; and gave his last directions with calmness and wisdom, ordering that his remains should be buried in Florence.

Towards sunset, on the 18th of February, Michael Angelo turned to his friends, and said: "I give my soul to God, my body to the earth, and my worldly possessions to my nearest of kin, charging them through life to remember the sufferings of Jesus Christ." With these words upon his lips, Angelo died, in peace and comfort, at the close of his eighty-ninth year.

Some years before, he had proposed to divide his estates between Leonardo and Sigismondo, or, if they died before him, every thing was to be bequeathed to San Martino, that is, the income was to be given, "for the love of God, to the modest poor." 8,000 crowns were found in a sealed chest, in his house, and there were also a few unfinished sculptures, with cartoons, models, and some unimportant household furniture. His people affirmed that he had burnt many drawings during the last year of his life.

The Pope and the Romans were so fully determined to keep Angelo's body in their city, that they hastened to bury it, in the Church of the

Holy Apostles. But Leonardo Buonarroti secretly removed it, and the body of the great master arrived in Florence after an absence of thirty years, disguised as a bale of merchandise, consigned to Vasari. On Sunday night the Tuscan artists conducted it to the Church of Santa Croce, in a torch-light procession, followed by many thousands of citizens; and in the church the remains were viewed by all the friends, appearing still as if asleep. Some days later magnificent memorial services were held in the Church of San Lorenzo, by the Duke and his court, the artists and Academicians, and other eminent men, and after the requiem mass Benedetto Varchi delivered a funeral oration. The church was filled with rare decorations of paintings and statuary, surrounding a catafalque fifty-four feet high. All the shops in Florence were closed, and immense crowds surrounded San Lorenzo.

His remains now rest in Santa Croce, the Pantheon, the Westminster Abbey of Italy, near the monuments of Dante, Alfieri, Macchiavelli, Galileo, Cherubini, Filicaia, and other illustrious men. The monument erected by the Duke and Leonardo Buonarroti is adorned by statues of Painting,

Sculpture, and Architecture, and a bust of him whom Vasari called "That most holy old man, who was the light of our arts."

Lanzi uses these words: "As Dante made choice of materials very difficult to be reduced to verse, and from an abstruse subject extracted the praise of sublimity and grandeur, in like manner Michael Angelo explored the untrodden path of design, and, in pursuing it, displayed powers of execution at once scientific and magnificent. In his works man assumes that form, which, according to Quintilian, Zeuxis delighted to represent. His foreshortenings and his attitudes are most daring; his expression full of vivacity and energy."

Grimm says: "All Italians feel that he occupies the third place by the side of Dante and Raphael, and forms with them a triumvirate of the greatest men produced by their country, — a poet, a painter, and one who was great in all arts. Who would place a general or a statesman by their side as equal to them? It is art alone which marks the prime of nations."

Says Taine: "There are four men in the world of art and of literature exalted above all others, and to such a degree as to seem to belong to another race; namely, Dante, Shakespeare, Beethoven, and Michael Angelo. . . . [Before his master-work in the Sistine Chapel] we cease to feel the abuse of art, the aim at effect, the domination of mannerism: we only see the disciple of Dante, the friend of Savonarola, the recluse feeding himself on the menaces of the Old Testament, the patriot, the stoic, the lover of justice who bears in his heart the grief of his people, and who attends the funeral of Italian liberty, one who, amidst degraded character and degenerate minds, alone survives and daily becomes sadder, his soul filled with thoughts of the Supreme Judge, and listening beforehand to the thunders of the last day."

"*. . . E quel che a par sculpe e colora,*
Michel più che mortal Angiol divino."

ARIOSTO

A LIST OF

THE CHIEF PAINTINGS AND SCULPTURES OF MICHAEL ANGELO

NOW EXISTING, WITH THE DATES OF THEIR EXECUTION, AND THEIR PRESENT LOCATIONS.

*** *Certain works of art in Europe are now attributed to Angelo, about which there is great uncertainty. It seems inexpedient to include these productions here, although in some cases they have strong grounds for consideration.*

*** *Angelo's designs are carefully preserved, in considerable numbers, at Florence, Milan, Vienna, Oxford, and other places.*

SCULPTURES.

ITALY.

FLORENCE. — *National Museum* (in the Bargello), — The Dying Adonis, 1501; Bacchus and the Satyr, 1497–98; the Victory group (unfinished); the Young Apollo, 1530; Bust of Brutus (unfinished); the Faun's Head, 1489; Circular Relief of the Madonna (unfinished), 1503–04; Leda and the Swan (?). *Academy of Fine Arts*, — David, 1501–04; St. Matthew (unfinished), 1503. *Buonarroti Gallery*, — The Battle of the Centaurs (bas-relief), 1490–92; plaster model

of the Deposition from the Cross; Madonna and Child, 1492–94; Holy Family. *Cathedral*, — The Pietà (unfinished), 1545–60. *San Lorenzo* (Medicean Chapel), — The Tombs of Lorenzo and Giuliano de' Medici, 1520–34; the Virgin and Child. *Boboli Gardens*, — Four statues of the Prisoners (unfinished).

ROME. — *St. Peter in Vincoli*, — Moses, begun in 1513; Rachel, Leah, and works from Angelo's designs. *Santa Maria Sopra Minerva*, — Jesus Christ, 1521. *St. Peter's*. — The Pietà, 1498–99. *Fevoli Palace* (Russian Legation), — The Deposition from the Cross (unfinished); the Saviour (unfinished.)

BOLOGNA. — *San Domenico Church*, — A Kneeling Angel, 1495; St. Petronius, 1495.

SIENA. — *Cathedral*, — Statues of Sts. Peter, Paul, Gregory, Pius, and Francis; Christ and Angels (?).

GENOA. — *Hospital of the Poor*, — Bas-relief of the Pietà (?); Christ in the Garden.

PARMA. — *Academy of Fine Arts*, — Small bas-relief of the Deposition from the Cross.

NAPLES. — *Royal Museum*, — Bust of Paul III.

MANTUA. — *Virgilian Academy*, — Sleeping Hercules (?).

PARIS. — *The Louvre*, — Two Statues of the Prisoners.

BRUGES. — *Notre Dame Church*, — Virgin and Child 1500-03.

ST. PETERSBURG. — *Academy*, — A Caryatide.

LONDON. — *South-Kensington Museum*, Cupid, 1497–98; A Bust of a Lady; and thirteen models in wax and terra-cotta. *Royal Academy*, — Bas-relief of the Virgin and Child, 1500–04.

PAINTINGS.

ITALY.

FLORENCE. — *Uffizi Gallery*, — The Holy Family. *Pitti Palace*, — The Three Fates. *Buonarroti Gallery*, — The Holy Family and Saints (?).

ROME. — *Vatican Palace*, — The Frescos of the Sistine and Pauline Chapels.

NAPLES. — *Royal Museum*, — Two Cartoons; Sketch of the Last Judgment.

MADRID. — The Flagellation of Christ.

LONDON. — *National Gallery*, — The Taunton Madonna, 1492–96; the Entombment of Christ.

ARCHITECTURE.

ITALY.

FLORENCE. — The Laurentian Library and the Medici Chapel.

ROME. — The Dome of St. Peter's; the Cornice of the Farnese Palace; the Porta Pia; the Belvedere Stairway.

GENOA. — The Balbi Palace; the Albaro Palace.

PISA. — The Lanfranchi Palace. And many other buildings and parts of buildings in Italy.

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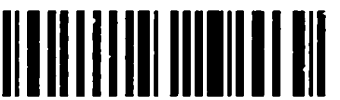
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